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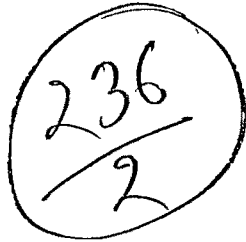
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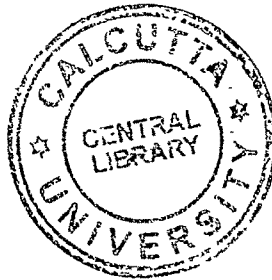
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EDITOR'S NOTE

It is gratifying to note that we have been able to publish the second issue of the Journal containing scholarly papers from the contributors of India and abroad during the current session 1984-85. The Journal of the Department of Pali deals with topics relating to religion, philosophy, literature, history, geography, art, archaeology etc. with special reference to Buddhism and Buddhist Culture from the earliest times to the present century. The scholars and interested readers who have been encouraging us so long will, we hope, continue their patronage for the progress of our Departmental Journal which will be issued in the regular course of publication.

KAMMA

—*Bhadanta Aggavaṃsena*

Kammehi sattā vattanti devā-narā appāyikā
Attano kammā vasehi santi duggati suggatiṃ.
Tasmā suttaṃ laddho taṃ dullabhaṃ narayoniyaṃ.
Sudhetha attano kamme hināhīna vinicchaye.

Ajjohaṃ kammatto pakāsetuṃ marabbha. Kammaṃ pana kenatthena bhāsita? Kenatthena kammaṃ? Taṃ sabba satta loke kena nayena pabattitaṃ? Bhagavā tathāgato kena kāranena ‘kammā satte bibhajjanti hīna paṇīta tāya’ kāraṇaṃ dassattvā abhāsi? Imena pucchavisajjana nayena pakāsituṃ maraddha. Kamma nissandhena anādi kālato paṭṭhāya sattānaṃ hitāhita kāraṇāni nibattitasama sandhāya atthena kammaṃ kāranatthena bhāsittantīti. Kammā, no nissariya bhāvena vā attā bhāvena vā sattā pabattitaṃ, kamma nayenevā ti. Tasmā kenatthena kammo’ ti māgato. Kammaṃ pana devasikaṃ kata kicca vasena jāto. kata kiccaṃ pana cittuppada vasena sampatto. Cittaṃ pana chasu dvāresu jātānissandhena chasu ārambanesu eva uppannājātā. Cittuppannā vasehi jātā cetāsikāni. Cittassa lakkhaṇaṃ cintana vasena taṃ cetāsika rūpena kammaṃ nāma jāto. Tena kāranena ‘cetanāhaṃ bhikkhave kammaṃ vadāmi’ saddena kammaṃ viññāpitatto kathita bhagavātena. yadidaṃ-tilesu telaṃ, khīresu dadhiṃ, dadhisu navanītaṃ, nabanītaṃsu sapipaṃ. Sace tilaṃ na hoti telampi natthiṃ, khīraṃ ma patte dadhimpī maladdho, dadhiṃvina nabanītaṃ majāto, nabanītaṃ maladdhe sapipaṃ kuhiṃsiya, Tenatthena chasu dvāresu kusalā kusalāmbana vasena kammaṃ pavattitaṃ. Nohetāṃ Īssara vasena vā atta vasena vā.

Taṃ sabba satta loke sabhava kāranena pabattitaṃ. yasmiṃ samaye chasu dvāresu chasu ārambanesu rūpaṃ vā saddaṃ vā gandhaṃ vā rasaṃ vā kotthabbaṃ vā dhammaṃ vā kuseti, tasmīṃ samaye

cittam vā cetasikaṃ vā uppajjati ; tamapi sattaloke kusalā kusala bhāve pabattanti. Tamapi kammā bhāvehi sattānaṃ samijjhanti. Sace dāna-silādini puññabhāvehi kata kiccani honti tamapi dhammo kusalo, tena kusala kammena manussa sampatti ca deva sampatti cānabbāna sampatti ca jātā bhabanti Sace pānaṃh'neti, musaṃ bha-neti, adinnaṃ gaṇehti, tasmim samaye akusala kamme bhavanti ; tena kammena mukha, badhira, dalidda, jaccandhādinamhutvā bhavantare tahiṃtāhim bahu dukkhā nipipalitehi pabattanti. Taṃ kata kamma basena muppanno sabbesaṃ, nomissara vasena vā atta vasena vāti. Tasmā sabbā sattānaṃ kammehi vā devā-nara-apāyikā sandhāya sugati duggatiṃ nibattitaṃ, dullabhatara manussa yoniyam pattvā attano kammaṃ visudhittvā nikikhanda hina kammaṃ ahina kammena manussa samiddhi bhavaṃ jīvituṃ vattati. Sace manussa yonito tiracchane gate sante vā apāye gate sante vā sata koṭi bhavantare pi vimuccita bhāvaṃ madiṭṭha dukkha nippaccita bhāvaṃpana santapena sampatte. yebhuena kusala cittamiva uppajjamāna bhāvaṃ asakkonto tena yoniyena asaṃkheyyaṃ kotikappa satāni nimujjanti. Tasmā viññunā saññāmanena attano dulladdhaṃ manussattaṃ abadhāretvā saññāmena dānena-silena kusala kammani dalehna samācāretuṃ yuttanti. Tāni kammani pana pākādāna vasena ca patisandhi vasena ca pākādāna kāla vasena ca catuhipakārehi mekākaṃ dvādasa kammani paramattha nayehi vannitaṃ. Saṃkhittena avadhārettvā idha dasessatuṃ marabbhaṃ.

Pākādāna vasena pana janakaṃ, upathambhakaṃ, upapilakaṃ, upaghātakaṃ ceti. Paṭisandhi vasena pana garukaṃ, āsannaṃ, acinnaṃ, katattanceti. Pākādāna kāla vasena pana diṭṭha dhamma vedanīya kammaṃ, upapajja vedanīya kammaṃ, aparāpariya vedanīya kammaṃ, ahosi kammañcāti. Imasmiṃ dvādasa kammaṃsmiṃ janaka kammaṃpana pākādāna vasena atīta sampatta kammanti katatta nayena vuttaṃ. Yaṃ puggalaṃ atīta kata kamma vasena idha yenaci kule sampatto rāja vā mahadaḍḍhano vā daliddo vāti. Vigata bhavato idha jāta hetu paccāyamiva janaka kamma nāmena bohara santati maññe. Upamena sace daṭṭhabbaṃ eko puggalo rājā kule mahanta sambharena samparayita bhāvaṃ pana janaka kammaṃ vuttaṃ. Samparayita bhāve raññassa mahantaṃ sambharena paripunnena dalhan samparayita matte upathambahan bhāvaṃ patto namampi upathambhaka kammaṃ. Tehi rañña sambharehi

abhisampatta kale gilana ca verina ca parapilīta bhavaṃ jato bhavamipi upapilāna sabhavatthena upapilaka kammaṃ nāmaṃ makari. Tena kammena paripilīta bhāvena tato catumano puna-bhanātare gata kammampi upaghāta kammaṃ nāma. Imena pākā-dāna vasena catubbidham.

Paṭisandhi vasena panamātu ghātakam, pitughātakam, arahanta ghātakam, Buddhassa lohituppādakam, saṃgha bhedakam, niyata micchadiṭṭhiko, ti chasu akusale. Kusale pana mahadgata kusale ca lokottara kusale pi sandhāya kammaṃ garukam. Tena kammena kenaci puggalena kusalākusalam garuka vasena sampatta bhāvaṃ dhuvanti vuttam. Āsannaṃ pana maraṇāsanna vasena kata kammaṃ. Dānena vā silena vā dhamma savanena vā maraṇāsanna kāle yaṃ kata kammaṃ. Saṃkhyena khuddaka mattampi, vipāka vasena aggena paṭisandhikkhaṇe vipākam samparayitu sakkaṭṭhāya āsanna kammanti vuttam. yena gopālako gosālato goṇam nikkanta kāle vacchatarī hotu vā valavā hotu vā paṭhamataram yo goṇam nikkanto so pi aggo'ti vattabbaṃ. Sace pi mahantaṃ thāmaṃvanto gonopi vacchatariggo nikkamituṃ na sakka, tena garukamma vina na sakka vipāka datuṃ khaṇikāsanna kammena maggo. Acinnaṃ pana akata chinna vasena acinnaṃ. Yo puggalo kālena kālam vā varena vāram vā devāsikam vā dānādini puñṇāni kamme nipphāditam. Abhavena āsannaṃ vā garukam vā taṃ kammaṃ pākādāna vasena maraṇāsanna kāle paṭisandhiṃ pattattha kammaṃ acinna kammaṃ nāma. Tena abhavena katattha kammaṃ yeva satte vipākam samvattati. katatta kammaṃ pana kenaci deva samayena varena vā kālena vā akatattha kata kammaṃ nāma. Tampi garukam vā āsannaṃ vā acinnaṃ vā sace nātthi, maraṇāsaṇṇa kāle paṭisandhi bīthissiṃ sampatta kammaṃ.

Yaṃ kammaṃ paccakkha diṭṭha bhāvena jāto, taṃ kammaṃ diṭṭha dhamma vedanīyaṃ nāma. Sace tvaṃ kenaci āghataṃ karesi, so tvaṃ patighātaṃ karoti yeva. Sace tvaṃ karusaṃ bhanesi, sopi paṭivacanena karusaṃ bhaneti yeva. Evameva kammaṃ diṭṭha dhamma nāmena paññattaṃ. Yaṃ kammaṃ katvā dve-tayo bhava vipākam sampatto taṃ kammaṃ upapajja vedanīya kammaṃ nāma. Yaṃ kammaṃ chasu bhavesu antare kenaci deva bhava vipāka vattanta vasena sampatto, taṃ kammaṃ aparapariya kamma nāmena samijjhati, yaṃ kammaṃ kata pubbaṃ taṃ dāni natthi pāka

dānaṃ, tampi ahosi kammaṃ nāma. Puññaṃ vā apuññaṃ vā, valavā kusalena vā akusalena vā taṃ pākadāna vasena asamattaṭṭha kāraṇena natthiṭṭhāya ahosi kammaṃ nāma. Evaṃ kamma niyamenā vā citta niyamenā vā sabhāva dhamma niyamenā vā satta lokassa santati parivattita kāraṇaṃ jāto, nohetuṃ issaratthena vā attatthena vā ti. Imena niyamenā kammatto saṃkhittena idha vaṇṇitaṃ.

“Sabbe sattā sukhitā bhavantu”.

MONASTIC IMPACT ON BAMIIYAN PAINTINGS

—C. S. Upasak

Bamiyan is world famous for its two colossal images of the Buddha, one being 55 mtrs. and the other 35 mtrs. in height and also for its frescoes that still remain on its rock-cut walls though in much damaged and blurred conditions, mostly on account of human vandalism and also natural strokes. The number of the caves is extensively large, some twenty thousand though never accurately counted. This number suggests its importance as a great centre of Buddhism in the past. The history of its growing to such a huge religious centre is obscure, but it appears that Buddhism reached there at a very early time ; and since then it had a steady growth. It is recorded that when Hiuen-tsiang visited this centre in 632 A. D., he noticed several thousands of Buddhist monks, all belonging to the Hinayāna school, dwelling there. He was greeted by the king of the country by himself in his palace. The king of Bamiyan is supposed to be a descendant of Śākya race.¹ It is also mentioned that a branch of Śākyas traversing many countries reached Uḍḍiyāna or Udyāna, the easternmost part of Afghanistan, after the extermination by Viḍūḍabha, the son and successor of Kosala king Praśenajita, during the life-time of the Buddha. The Śākyan prince established his kingdom and the king of the country. His son Uttarasena by name was able to obtain the relics of the Buddha soon after his Parinibbāna, which he enshrined them in a stupa.² This stupa has been identified by Sir Suren Stien with the stupa of Shankaradar in the Swat valley,³ which was then a part of Uḍḍiyāna. In all probability the migration of the Śākyas to Uḍḍiyāna appears to be a historical fact. Probably after sometime this family of the Śākyas moved from Uḍḍiyāna and settled in Bamiyan and established there and ruled the country when Hiuen-tsiang visited there. Hiuen-tsiang also informs us that he saw the hemprobe in nine parts dyed in red and the iron pot of

1. Watters T. : *On the Yuan Chwang's Travels*, p. 116.

2. Beal S. : *Buddhist Rec. of West. World*, p. 113.

3. *Memoirs of A. S. I.*, Vol. 42, pp. 303-304.

Sanakavāsa.¹ i. e. Sambhūta Sāṇavāsī, an old monk who played a very important role in the Second Buddhist Council held at Vesālī, one hundred years after the Mahāparinibbāna of the Buddha, near Bamiyan.² He is also said to have dwelt at Kipin (Kapiśā), although his main place of residence was in a monastery near Mathurā.³ On the occasion of the Second Buddhist Council the Early Theravāda was divided and as a result another branch known as Mahāsāṅghika came into existence. Two streams of this group of monks migrated from Magadha, one went to South India and the other to North-West India and reached Uḍyāna. It was again divided into five groups, of which Lokuttaravādin was one.⁴ When Hiuen-tsiang visited Bamiyan, he found them predominant there as all the monasteries belonged to Hinayana.⁵ The colossal images of the Buddha there are believed to have been the creation of this sect of Buddhists, which they constructed to popularise their own views for deifyin the Buddha as supra-mundane and omniscient. It, may, therefore, be presumed that the frescoes there are also the creation of this group of monks.

It may be kept in mind all the caves in Bamiyan were exclusively excavated for the 'abodes' (*āvāsā*) of the Buddhist monks. In Pali Vinaya Piṭaka five types of *Āvāsas* or 'lodgings' are recommended by the Buddha for the monks. These are : *Vhāra*, *Aḍḍhayoga*, *Pāsāda*, *Hammiya* and *Guhā*.⁶ On the hilly places *Guhā* or cave is the most common abode of the Buddhist monks. Further in the Commentary (*Samantapasādikā*) four types of caves are mentioned as fit for the monks. They may be built of bricks, (*Iṭṭhakāmaya*), of wood (*Dārumaya*), of earth (*Paṃsumaya*) and of stone (*Silāmaya*).⁷ Obviously hill-caves were most common and they

1. Watters T. : *op. cit.*, p. 120.

2. *Dīpavaṃsa*, Ch. VIII, *Mahāvāṃsa*, Ch. XI, *Samantapasādikā* (Nal. Ed.) p. 54 ff.

3. Watters T. : *op. cit.*, p. 120.

4. Dutta N. : *Buddhist Sects in India*, p. 61.

5. Watters T. : *op. cit.*, p. 120 ; Beal S. : *Bud. Rec. of West World*, p. 133.

6. *Mahavagga* (Nal. Ed.), pp. 55, 100 ; *Cullavagga* (Nal. Ed.) pp. 68-69 ; 239 ; *Samantapasādikā* (Nal. Ed.), Vol. III, p. 1998.

7. *Samantapasādikā* (Nal. Ed.), Vol. III, p. 1998.

are to be seen at innumerable places even today. It is also interesting to find that the pattern of the cave monasteries was followed the same which we notice of the *Vihāras* built of bricks on the plains. A *Vihāra* usually has a courtyard (*pariveṇa*) and a varanda (*ālinda*) all sides behind which the rooms or living cells, just in front of the gate (*koṭṭhaka*) on the opposite side a shrine with the image of the Buddha. The gate is usually flanked by the images of the Buddha on the either sides. The Ajantā cave monasteries are the best example of this design. The *Vihāras* of Nālandā and also elsewhere follow the same pattern.

As in Ajanta caves so also in Bamiyan the walls are chiselled first, and then plastered with *cūnam* and other sticky materials for making the surface of the walls smooth in order to make it possible for decorations by paintings. Decoration of the monasteries by painting is an old tradition and we find its account in the Pali texts also. In the *Cullavagga* it occurs that a group of some unscrupulous monks, called Chavaggiyas, had made decorations of their *Vihāras* with the paintings of male and female figures of human beings in the same fashion as practised in the houses of ordinary householders. The Buddha was informed about this uneccelesiastical practice and he thereupon laid down a rule prohibiting the monks to decorate their residences with figures of male and female (conjugal) figures of human beings which may look provocative and undignified against the monastic abode. But, at the same time he allowed the monks to decorate a *Vihāra* with other decorative designs like floral, creepery designs or paintings of *Makaradantaka* i.e. a design of animals etc., or of *Pañcapaṭṭika* i.e. veriegated pictures.¹ Further in the *Samantapasādikā*, the Commentary on the Vinaya Piṭaka the anecdotes from the Jātakas or scenes displaying the 'excellent' donations (*asadisānāni*) or such other inspirational and devotional scenes which may arouse renunciation in the mind of the people may be painted. For this purpose painters from outside may be engaged and monks may paint flowers and creepers by themselves.² Evidently, decorating of *Vihāras* or other 'lodgings' with the paintings by the monks was commonly practised by the monks from a very

1. *Cullavagga* (Nal. Ed.), p. 245.

2. *Samantapasādikā* (Nal. Ed.), Vol. III, p. 1998.

early time. The paintings in Vihāras of course remained theological in character and they included many anecdotes from the scriptures or the life scenes of the Master himself. It was thus natural that those monks who possessed the skill and proficiency in paintings performed most of the decoration works by themselves. It was also considered an act of accruing merit. For depicting a scene from the Jātaka or painting an imaginary scene of celestial beings like Devatās Apsarās or the like or even the life scenes of the Buddha a good traditional knowledge of the texts is expected. A painter has to be conversant with the story or event that he is going to paint, which would entail a good textual and traditional knowledge besides his own technical skill and imagination. No doubt the Buddhist monks were the people who possessed the best knowledge of the texts and also conversant with the ecclesiastical and other theological traditions. The story of the paintings of the monastic residences by the Chavaggiya monks during the life time of the Buddha stands as a best testimony to the fact that decorations of the monastic residences started at a very early date. The decorations of course mostly included theological themes. While studying the Buddhist art we are studying the works which are not primarily intended for pure aesthetic enjoyment, but whose value of form and expression stand in edifying the higher non-ulterior end or goal of salvation. This was the purpose of Buddhist art. The persons who had left their homes and hearths and had become 'homeless' and who had made caves as their voluntary residence were probably the main creators of Buddhist art, whether in sculpture or in paintings.

As a matter of fact the ecclesiastical rules for the monastic residences were framed for the monks dwelling there as well as for all the members of the Order. As a rule no monk is permitted to sleep with a layman under the same roof not more than two or three nights and that also under emergent circumstances; otherwise he would commit an offence of *Pācittiya* (Rule No. 35).¹ Normally no layman was allowed to reside in a Vihāra or in any other monastic residences.

It is a well-known fact that admission into the Saṅgha open to all notwithstanding any creed, caste or nationality for any person

1. *Pācittiyapāli* (Nal. Ed.), p. 30 ff.

desiring to seek admission by fulfilling the primary conditions. Consequently, the Buddhist Order took a cosmopolitan form and character, which has been maintained till today in the Buddhist countries. At one place in the *Cullavagga* (Nal. Ed. p. 356) the Buddha compares his Saṅgha like the sea. As the rivers like Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Sarajhū, Mahī etc. when they join the sea, they lose their individual colours, tastes and other features ; and they become of one colour and taste that of the sea ; similarly all the individuals who enter into the Saṅgha lose their individual caste, creed or nationality and they all become the equal member of the Saṅgha. This cosmopolitan feature of the Buddhist Order has played a very important role in the history of Buddhism. The monastic establishments through the Buddhist World were open for all the monks from any country or nation. In later days when Buddhism had become firm rooted and a well established religion in the countries outside India, Buddhist monks from foreign countries never felt any inconvenience or trouble if they chose to dwell in any monastery in India or in any other country outside his own. This fact is well warranted through many sources known to us.

Bamiyan stood on the ancient 'silk route' and consequently witnessed traders, saints, invaders and also ordinary wanderers all alike when they happened to pass through this place. Extant of such a large number of monastic grottoes at Bamiyan do suggest that somehow or other this place became a very favourite abode of the Buddhist monks in the past who flocked there from different distant lands of the Buddhist world. In all probability the Saṅgha there included the monks from all over the neighbouring countries like India, Persia, Greece and probably also from China and Korea¹ and Central Asia. Hiuen-tsiang met two monks Āryadāsa and Āryasena, who were probably Indians as their names suggest. As a matter of fact it is not at all surprising or inconsistent considering the cosmopolitan composition of the Buddhist Saṅgha. How much this singular feature of the Buddhist Order has had its value and impact on the paintings of Bamiyan besides on other aspects of life there, is the purpose of our present investigation.

The niches in which the two colossal images of the Buddha stand

1. Hui-Chao, a Korean monk who visited Bamiyan in 727 A. D. has left an account about it.

and also the soffits of their vaults were once entirely decorated with paintings of Buddha and Buddhist deities and other celestial scenes, flying Apsarās and Devatās which can still be seen. Some of the domes and 'lantern-roofs' were also once fully painted with the representations of Buddhist deities. Most of the painted caves can be seen in the Small Buddha Complex. Besides these two complexes there are two other places near Bamiyan valley from where wall paintings have been found. The Kakrak valley lies about four kms. to the south of the main Bamiyan valley, where stands a statue of the Buddha set in a niche 7.4 mtr. deep and 5.5 mtr. wide and surrounded by several grottoes and sanctuaries. The figure of the Buddha is badly damaged due to atmospheric effects and also man-made injuries, yet ancient decorations in paintings can be noticed. A painting of seated Buddha encircled with small eleven Buddhas has been found from there, which is regarded by some scholars as the earliest specimen of the cosmic *Maṇḍalas* so commonly found in Tibet and Nepal. To the west of this valley at a distance of about ten kmtrs. another valley known as Foladi is located, where also another complex of monastic grottoes numbering about 200 is found. These caves are also of great interest. The village where these caves stand is now locally called Āhangarāna, which we believe, to be the derivative of the word 'Āharantānam' i.e. the place of the *Arhantās*. In these caves also traces of paintings can still be seen on the walls. A detailed survey and study of this place are yet to be done.

The Categories of Painting

The stylistic categories of the Bamiyan paintings are usually grouped into three or four : one pure Sassanian or Iranian, the other Indian and the third may be described as Central Asian or Graeco-Roman art as it is supposed to have developed in Gandhāra.

Paintings in the Small Buddha Complex

Scholars are of the opinion that the paintings still decorating the vault above the 35 mtr. Small Buddha are entirely Sassanian or Iranian in style ; and they have been compared with the pictorial equivalents in the Sassanian rock-cut reliefs at Naqs-i-Rustam and Shapur.¹ In the ceiling of the niche a decoration of a solar divinity,

1. Rowland B. : *Art and Architecture of India, Buddhist Hindu Jain*, p. 100 ;
Dupree N. C. : *The Valley of Bamiyān*, p. 34.

the Sun God, in a quadriga, wearing a long coat with wide flaring lapels and a long straight sword attached to his belt is noticed. This has been discussed by many and some scholars trace it as a pictorial version of the relief of the Sūrya of Bodh Gaya.¹ Some scholars have identified it with the Candra and Mithra and believe that the God is clad in the fashion of North Indian emboidered long coat.² May it be the representation of Amitābha, another name of the Sun God and also of a Buddha by the same name. This may be our simple guess. Many other art objects are noticed there in Sassanian style, such as, decorations with boar's heads, birds holding necklaces in their beaks, winged and beribboned vases which hang over the Buddha's head etc. At the same time, if we look at a figure of a seated Buddha near this small Buddha, beautiful paintings of haloed Buddha in the centre bordered by dancing Apsarās and other celestial musicians and nymphs which clearly display Indian influence.³ Similarly on the lateral wall there is a Boddhisattva holding a bluestemmed lotus which is almost identical to the famous Bodhisattva of Ajantā.⁴ North of the assembly hall we find a figure of the Buddha swathed in the folds of *Dhotī*. Both these in form and costume are purely Indian in origin.⁵

Big Buddha Paintings

The niche of the Big Buddha or 55 mtr. Buddha was once entirely covered with decorative paintings, traces of which can still be seen. The side walls of the niche were painted with row upon row of the figures of seated Buddhas in different *Mudrās*. Above this are the flying divinities like Apsarās, Gandhravas, Devatās and other celestial beings. Their jewelled head dresses and striped skirts bear a close resemblance to the costumes noticed in the Ajantā figures. The depiction of other forms of the body like nose, hip, legs etc. also suggest a clear influence of Indian style, although not so elegant as we find their counterparts in the Ajantā caves. The art style

1. Rowland B. : *op. cit.*, p. 100.

2. *Buddhism in Afganistan*, II, E. J. Brill Publication, P. 47.

3. Dupree N. C. : *op. cit.*, p. 40.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 31.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 31.

cannot be described as purely Indian because certain other details, such as, foliate motifs of the Bodhisattva's throne, are of Graeco-Roman or Gandhāran origin ; and so also the flying ribbons of the head dress are definitely Sassanian.¹ The drapery of the figures, flying scarves and some other forms resemble the paintings of Kizil and other sites in Turkistan which may be described as Central Asian in origin.²

Thus, the stylistic synthesis of art as manifested in Bamiyan, presents hybrid in character. Many other factors also lead us to infer that the paintings depicted at Bamiyan are the creations of those artists who were fully conversant with Indian, Iranian or Sassanian, Gandhāran or Central Asian art styles. One wall manifests purely Indian in style while the other is in Sassanian. On the niche of the Big Buddha the summit of the vault is Indian while the side walls are painted in Sassanian style.³ The cosmopolitan or mixed art is evident there. This feature of Bamiyan art deserves our attention for consideration.

We know that the caravan traders (*Satthavāha*) and also the monastic wanderers were the persons who helped in establishing cultural contacts among different countries to great extent in ancient times. They are the people who made possible to bring India in close touch with the Western World. The very first two lay-disciples (Upāsakas) of the Buddha, Tapassu and Bhallika were the caravan traders or touring merchants, who are said to have belonged to a place near Balkh, the ancient Bahlika.⁴ They are said to have built the stupas on hair and nail parings of the Buddha which they received from the Buddha. Hiuen-tsiang himself witnessed and worshipped these stupas.⁵ Buddhism no doubt reached Bamiyan and other parts of Afghanistan at a very early time. Many Buddhist monks from Afghanistan also used to take their religious pilgrimages

1. Dupree N. C. : *Op. cit.*, p. 26, Rowland B. : *op. cit.*, p. 102.

2. Dupree N. C. : *op. cit.*, p. 45 ff.

3. Dupree N. C. : *The Valley of Bamiyan*, p. 26.

4. Beal S. : *Bud. Rec. of West. World*, pp. 46-48 ; *Life of Huen Tsang*, p. 50 ; *Ency. of Buddhism*, Vol. II, pp. 685-687 ; Lokesh Chandra : *Three Iranian Words in the Buddhist Tradition* ; p. 7.

5. Beal S. : *Budd. Rec. of Wes. World*, p. 48 ; *Life of Huen Tsang*, p. 50.

to India and some even made their residences in Indian monasteries. One Bhikkhu Viradeva from Nāgarahāra (Uḍyāna), E. Afghanistan established and dwelt in a Vihāra at place near Nālandā now called Ghosarāwān.¹ Even in Ajantā we find the depiction of Iranian caps and other head-dresses which are definitely Western in style.² Bamiyan being situated on the 'silk route' became the favourite 'abode' (Āvāsa) of the Buddhist monks who hailed from different distant parts of the Buddhist World. It appears very plausible that the monks who came from India, Gandhāra, Iran or Central Asia or even from Korea and China all dwelt there together. They naturally carried with them the art trends of their own individual countries; and when engaged in decorating this great monastic establishment of Bamiyan, they employed their own artistic trend and skill. We have noted above that the monks in ancient days were mostly responsible for decorating their 'lodgings' and sometimes even those artists who were not monks but engaged to this work used to become a Śrāmaṇera (novice) and lived in the monasteries along with the other monks. As a matter of fact different stylist art features displayed in the paintings of Bamiyan point to this very monastic character. The paintings found there are probably the creations of the monks who had assembled there from different distant lands in the east and in the west besides the local monks. They all combined together to decorate the *Guhā Vihāras* (Cave dwellings) of Bamiyan. The mixed form of decorative arts in paintings do suggest a clear impact of cosmopolitan traditional character of the Buddhist monastic establishments. Bamiyan being a great centre of Buddhist monks stands as a testimony to this tradition. @

1. *Indian Antiquary*, 1888, p. 61; Cf. *Nalanda—Past & Present*, pp. 179-180.

2. Griffith, John : *The Paintings in the Cave Temples of Ajanta*, Vol. I, p. 17.
Long caps can be noticed in the paintings of Cave No. 1. Also notice the small and large square panels in the ceilings which are non-Indian.

@. Paper read on the occasion of a Seminar on 'Central Asian Buddhist Art' held at Bhopal from 10th Feb. to 13th Feb. 1984.

TISARAṆAM

Silananda Brahmchāri

‘ত্রিশরণ মহামন্ত্ৰ যবে
বজ্রমন্ত্ৰ রবে
আকাশে ধ্বনিতোছিল পশ্চিমে পূর্বে
মরুপারে শৈলতটে সমুদ্রের কূলে উপকূলে
দেশে দেশে চিন্তাধার দিল যবে খুলে.....।’

Yassa Tisaraṇa mahāmantassa ānubhāvo kavigurunā Ravinda nāthana thomito uttānikato, tassa uppattikathā hi vicittā madhurā manoharā. Vattabbamidaṃ asamsayena—Na kho pana Bhagavā sammāsambuddho tisaraṇa mantassa desako pavattako, taṃ ārabha eva so manto vatto pavattito. Bhagavato mahiddhikataṃ mahānubhāvatam matāpurisatejam atikkamituṃ na sakkā Keracideva samaṇena vā brāhmaṇena vā devena vā brahmanā vā. Tasmā tasmim dharamāne paṭipakkhā vadiṃsu “samaṇo Gotamo āvaṭṭanimāyam jānāti”. Sā āvaṭṭanimāyā hi tassa mahāpurisa tejoti alaṃ vattena. Tassa paṭhama payogo ahosi Tapassin Bhalluka nāmadheyyesu vānijesu.

Buddho Bhagavā paṭhamābhisambuddho vimuttisukha patisaṃvedi katipayāni sattāhāni vitināmetvā yadā Rājāyatana mūle nisidi, tadā tukkalā gayam addhānamagga patipannā Tapassu Bhallukā vānija tatra nisinnam Bhagavantam disvāva abhihūta haṭṭā udaggā taṃ abhivādatvā manthena ca madhupindikāya ca pūjetvā mānetvā avocaṃ—ete mayam bhante Bhagavantam saraṇam gacchāma dhammañca, upāsake no Bhagavā dhāretu ajjatagge pāṇupete saraṇam gateti. Etādisāya saraṇāgatiyā sayam sambhūta saddhā pīti pākātā : Te Bhagavantam disvāva saha-jātāya buddhiyā cinte-sam—eso mahāpuriso hi narāmarānam paramasaraṇo paramatāṇo mahāvassayo, taṃ nissāya viharanto jionti akutobhayo. Tasmā te asakhārikāya saddhāya pitipāmojja bharita hadayā Buddhañca Dhammañca saraṇam upesuṃ. Te ca paṭhamam loke Bhagavato upāsaka ahesum saraṇagatā, avijjamāne saṃghe dhevācikaṭi vattā.

Atha kho Bhagavā yena Barāṇasī isipatanam migadāyo yena pañca vaggiyā brāhmaṇa paribbajakā tenaupasaṅkamitvā puṇṇāya puṇṇamāya tesam dhammam desesi, dhamma cakkam pavattesi. Tasmim bhaññamāne āyasmato koṇḍaññaassa virajam vitamalam

dhamma cakkhaṃ udupādi. So diṭṭhadhamme pattadhammo tiṇṇa-
vicikiccho Bhagavantam etadavoca—labheyyāhaṃ Bhante Bhagavato
santike pabbajjāṃ labheyyaṃ upasampadaṃti. Bhagavā avoca—Ehi
bhikkhu, svākkhāto dhammo, cara brahmacariyaṃ sammā dukkhassa
antakiriyāya. Sāva tassa āyasmato upasampadā ahosi. So ca ahosi
paṭhamo bhikkhu. Atha Bhagavā Tadavasese paribbājake ovaditvā
anusāsitvā tesam dhammacakkhum uppādetvā tepi ‘ehi’ mantena
upasampādetvā paṭhamam bhikkusaṃgham patiṭṭhāpesi.

Ito acirena Bārāṇasīyaṃ yaso nāma kulputto sukhumālo seṭṭhi-
putto tassa saḥāyakā ca Bhagavato ‘ehi’ mantena upasampajjitvā
saṃgham vadḍhesuṃ. Tesam seṭṭhiputto Yaso illhāgāre nibbiṇṇo
mahantaṃ bhogakkhandham pahāya rattandhakāra timisāyaṃ dig-
hamaddhānaṃ atikkamitvā Bhagavato santike paṭhamam agamāsi.
Tameva pariyesanto tassa pitā seṭṭhi gahapai catuddisam assadūte
uyyojetvā sāmāññeva Isipatanaṃ gantvā ādiccamiva Tapantaṃ
santaṃ saññataṃ Tathāgataṃ disvā abhibhūto cintesi—nissamsa-
yana ayaṃ mahāpuriso atitānāgataṃ jānāti, so mama palāyantaṃ
puttaṃ sandhāya vattum sakkoti. Tasmā so Bhaghvantaṃ puechi
“api nu Bhante Bhagavā Yasam kulaputtaṃ passeyya ? Bhagavā
avoca “tenahi gahapati nisīda appeva nāma taṃ passeyyāsi”. Seṭṭho
gahapati haṭṭho udaggo tattheva nisīdi puttaṃ dassavakāmo. Atha
kho Bhagavā tassa anekāpariyāyeva dhammaṃ desesi. Taṃ dham-
makathaṃ sutvā so pasanno pahaṭṭho ulārāya vācāya parama
pītim pavedetvā attanaṃ nivedento avoca : esāhaṃ Bhante Bhaga-
vantaṃ saraṇam gacchāmi dhammañca bhikkhu saṅghañca,
upāsakammam. Bhagavā dhāretu ajjatagge pānaupetaṃ saraṇam
gataṃ. So ca loke paṭhamam upāsako ahosi tevāciko.

Tato paṭṭhāya Buddho Bhagavā ca bhikkhu saṅgho ca yattha
yattha gacchimsu dhammaṃ desentā janamanāni bodhentā, tattha
tatthena pasannā janā sañjāta saddhāya saraṇasile patiṭṭhahimsu.
Evam acirena Jambudīpe gāme nigame nagaroparagane tisaṇa
manto patthaṇo. Tadā janā-Buddham saraṇam gacchāmi, dhammam
saraṇam gacchāmi, saṅgham saraṇam gacchāmi vatsū anappakaṃ
pītipāmojjam anubhaviṃsu, labhimsu ca hadaye balaṃ. Tesam
ussolhi jātānam pabuddhānaṃ janānaṃ kusala cetanā samupajji. Te
sammaṇṇa-kusalā bahujana hitāya bahujana sukhāya punna kammāni
akāṃsu. Tato tattha tattha saṅkhātita vihārasaṅghārāmādayo
kāraṇāni ahesuṃ. Evam janahitakāraṃ janasukhakāraṃ anukara-

niyam vatthu patiṭṭhitam. Jasmā tisarāṇa manto Jambudīpe abhūta-pubbaṃ samiddhiṃ sampādesi. sā ujjalā samiddhi bahūni vassa satāni pavattayi. S.

So tisarāṇa mahāmanto na tu kevalaṃ jambudīpe yeva ṭhito, apica dīpasīmaṃ samatikkamma duttaraṃ samuddyaṃ uttaritvā dullañghaṃ giriṃ ullaṅghitvā desadesintaresu pavattamāno tatrapi acintaniyaṃ samiddhiṃ janesi. Ajjāpi loke nānāṭṭhānesu pabbata-gutte giriguhāya pāsāṇaphalake vihāra thūpānaṃ dhamsāvasese tassā nidassanaṃ paññayati. Etarahipi tisarāṇa manto nānadasesu janānaṃ cittani matheti modeti.

Ettha vattabbaṃ—na kho pana Tathāgato saraṇagatānaṃ mokkh-dātā. Vuttaṃ hetuṃ Dhammapade :—

Tumhehi kiccaṃ ātappaṃ akkhātāro tathāgatā
paṭipannā pamokkhanti jhāyino morabandhanā,

puna ca parinibbāna kāle tena vuttaṃ :—

Attadīpā bhikkhave viharatha attasaraṇā anaññasaraṇā.
Dhammadīpā bhikkhave viharatha dhammasaraṇā
anaññasaraṇā.

udāpaṭa vacanāni paccavekkhantānaṃ upaṭṭhahiyya—ñānañca kammañca Buddha vacanassa mūla kathā, tattha saraṇagatīyā vā bhattivādassa vā okāso na vijjati. Kevalaṃ saraṇagamanena vā saddhāya vā nibbānaṃ adhigantabbanti na kutrāpi vuttaṃ. Tathāpi saddhā na upekkhaniyā. Tato hi uppajjati dhammabhāvo. Tasmā vuttaṃ : saddhā vijam tapo vuṭṭhi..... Mokkhādhigame paṭhama kiccaṃ sampādeti saddhā.

Saraṇāgatassa hi bhattirasasitta bhāva mathita cittaṃ tisarana manta samphassena sītībhūtaṃ samiddhaṃ hoti ālokasampannaṃ. Yuttha Buddho ca dhammo ca saṅgho ca, tattha taṇhānirodhā parama sukha nibbānādhigame āsaṃso. Buddho nibbānadesako, dhammo nibbānassa maggo, saṅgho adhigatanibhāno. Tasmā sammā dukkhassa antudiriya saraṇāgatassa nibbānākaṅkhā vaḍḍhiṃ virulhiṃ āpajjati. Tadā ālokamukha kusuma kali viya so nibbānābhīrato hoti. Ettha eva tisarāṇa mantassa siddhi sampajjati.

References : Mahāvaggo-Mahākkhandakaṃ, Majjhima nikāyo cūla Hallhi padopama suttaṃ. Dīgha mikāyo-Mahāparinibbāna suttaṃ, Saṃyutta nikāyo-devatā saṃyuttaṃ Dhammapadaṃ—Mahāvaggo Visuddhi maggo-Anussati niddeso.

ALEXANDER CSOMA DE KÖRÖS
A. GREAT TIBETOLOGIST FROM HUNGARY

Dipak K. Barua

The objectives of writing this paper are (i) to pay my great respect to Alexander Csoma de Körös who was a pilgrim-scholar hailing from a far off country called Hungary, whose 200th birth anniversary was observed by The Asiatic Society, Calcutta, with the help of the Governments of India and West Bengal along with a Hungarian Delegation headed by His Excellency Istvan Sarlos, Deputy Prime Minister of Hungary, on April 20 and 21, 1984 ; (ii) to reveal Csoma's unique contributions to the areas of Buddhism and Tibetan Studies ; and (iii) to describe how he gradually transformed into 'an eastern person' from 'a western man'. In the preface of his *A Dictionary of Tibetan and English* Alexander Csoma De Körös frankly admitted : "And he (Csoma) begs to inform the public that he had not been sent by any Government to gather political information ; neither can he be accounted of the number of those wealthy European gentlemen who travel at their own expense for their pleasure and curiosity ; but rather only a poor student, who was very desirous to see the different countries of Asia, as the scene of so many memorable transactions of foreign ages ; to observe the manners of several peoples, and to learn their languages, of which, he hopes, the world may see hereafter the results, and such a man was he who, during his peregrination, depended for his subsistence on the benevolence of others¹... After his arrival at Calcutta, he was placed under obligations to Mr. H. H. Wilson, late Secretary to the Asiatic Society ... for the trouble which Mr. Wilson took in making extracts of his papers on the Tibetan literature and publishing them. Lastly, he gratefully acknowledges the favours which Mr. J. Princep, present Secretary to the Asiatic Society, continues to confer on him, in correcting and smoothing the English part of his works during their progress through the press."² Such is the

candid statement of the first European Buddhist scholar and the founder of modern Tibetan Studies, who was born on April 23, 1784—just two hundred years ago—in Transylvanian village of Körös in a poor but noble military family called *Sekler* of Hungary where he is known as Korosi Csoma Sendor or in English Alexander Csoma De Körös who became a national hero for a number of different reasons”.³

Csoma passed the *examene rigorosum* and went to the University of Göttingen to study English and Arabic. During his studentship he promised to himself to dedicate his life for visiting Central Asia in search of the origin of the Hungarians and actually began his journey towards the East in November, 1819 without any government support. Of course, his journey was not smooth. He endeavoured to enter into Central Asia by the Karakorum Pass, but he was stopped at Leh, the capital of Ladakh, which was and is still full of Buddhist monasteries containing the hitherto inaccessible Tibetan texts. As W. Moorcraft was to offer assistance to him, Csoma readily agreed to stay there and compile a grammar and a dictionary of the Tibetan language with his sole desire that in the texts preserved in those Buddhist monasteries he would find out some records about the legendary heroes he has set out to learn about.⁴

Alexander Csoma came over to Calcutta in 1831 and presented all the papers which he had already collected, to the Asiatic Society of Bengal that had sponsored his researches since 1828 by offering to him a monthly stipend of rupees fifty only. In 1834 his dictionary and grammar of Tibetan were published. The *Mahāvvyutpatti*, a Sanskrit and Tibetan Buddhist terminological dictionary, being edited and translated into English by him was also printed. A *Catalogue* and survey of the *Tripitaka* in Tibetan was published in 1834 in the *Asiatic Researches* and its French rendering came into existence in 1881. This *Catalogue* had given him an idea of various branches of Buddhist Sanskrit Literature, which had hitherto been lost to a great extent. He furnished a brilliant account of Tibetan literature in his numerous and valuable essays. As regards to his stay in the monastery of Zangla from June 1823 to October 1824 it is stated that : “In winter the doors were blocked with snow and the thermometer ranged below zero. For four months, Csoma sat with his

Lama in a cell nine feet square, neither of them daring to stir out, with no light after dark, with only the ground to sleep on, and the bare walls of the building as their sole defence against the deadly cold.”⁵

Csoma had clearly expressed his views on Buddha, Buddhism and Buddhist Literature for the first time based on textual researches in his papers published in 1833, 1834, 1836 and 1839 in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* and in the *Asiatic Researches*. Incidentally it may be mentioned here that the first study of the Buddhist Sanskrit texts by Burnouf was published in 1844 and the *Mahāvamsa*, a Sinhalese chronicle, was the first Pali text printed in 1836. This information reveals the fact that with great difficulty Csoma had to study Pali and Buddhist Sanskrit texts.

In order to illustrate the thought of Csoma about Buddhist literature in those early days the following passage may be quoted from his own writing : “The two principal works treating of the life of Shakyā or Buddha are the *Lalitavistara*, and the Tibetan work *Mngon-pe-hbyung-va* (*Abhinishkramana-sutra*). The first is contained in the 2nd and the latter in the 26th volume of the *Mdo* (*sutra*) class in the *Bkah-gyur* (the *Tripitaka* in Tibetan)”.⁶ Further, non-availability or unknown Buddhist literature to Europeans at that time Csoma supplied from the Tibetan sources a different account of the *Mahāparinibbāna* of Gotama Buddha who, according to the Pali tradition, passed away at Kusinagara in Uttar Pradesh, in the following manner : “The death of Shakyā, as generally stated in the Tibetan books, happened in Assam, near the City of Kusha, under a pair of Sal trees. This event is told at large in the 8th volume of the *Mdo* class in the *Bkahgyur*. As also, in two other volumes following the *Mdo* class, titled *Mahāparinirvanam*, the ‘great final deliverance from pain’.”⁷

As a scholar Csoma was unparalleled, as a man sincere, and as a Tibetologist pioneer. The Asiatic Society of Bengal elected him an honorary member and the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, a member. Taisho Buddhist University in 1933 honoured him as the *Bodhisattva* for his noble missions.⁸ About his simple livelihood in the premises of The Asiatic Society it had been stated : “His food was confined to tea of which he was very fond, and plain boiled

rice, of which he ate very little. On a mat on the floor, with boxes on all four sides, he sat, ate, slept, and studied, never undressed at night and rarely went out during the day. He never drank wine or spirits or used tobacco or other stimulants.”⁹

In 1842 Csoma started his journey towards Central Asia in order to fulfil his childhood dreams. He wrote a grateful letter of farewell to the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, leaving all his books, papers and savings at its disposal. He began his journey on foot and reached Darjeeling, West Bengal, India, on March 24 of that year, stricken with fever. No medical assistance could help this pilgrim-scholar who passed away very peacefully at daybreak on April 11, 1842 without a groan or a struggle. This was a westerner named Alexander Csoma de Koros from Hungary who before his demise became almost an “easterner” dedicating his life for the cause of Indo-Tibetan Studies.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Csoma de Körös, Alexander. *A Dictionary of Tibetan and English*; assisted by Sangs-Rgyas Phun-Tshogs (New Delhi, Cosmos Publications, 1978), p. vii.
2. *ibid*, p. viii.
3. *Csoma De Körös : A dedicated Life* (New Delhi, Hungarian Information and Cultural Centre, 1984), p. 3.
4. Kar, Sunil. *Hunger Ir Jñāna-Tapasvi Csoma de Körös* (Calcutta, Navayug Publishers, 1984), pp. 30-43.
5. *Csoma De Körös : A dedicated Life*, p. 17 (Csoma de Koros, Alexander. *The Twelve Principal Acts of the Buddha*).
6. *ibid*, p. 11 (Mukherjee, Hirendranath. *Csoma De Koros—A Dedicated Life*). This paper was read before a meeting of the Historical Society, Presidency College, Calcutta).
7. *Pilgrim Scholar : Alexander Csoma De Körös 1784-1842—Bicentenary, 1984, India—Catalogue of the Commemorative Exhibition* (New Delhi, Hungarian Information and Cultural Centre, 1984), pp. 7-8.
8. *ibid*, p. 31.
9. Mukherjee, Hirendra Nath. *The Great Tibetologist Alexander Csoma De Koros : Hermit-Hero from Hungary* (New Delhi, Sterling Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1984), p. 9.

BUDDHIST MONKS FROM CENTRAL ASIA TO CHINA

—*Kshanika Saha*

The Buddhist monks of Central Asia made their way to China from the middle of the second century A. D. The names of a few distinguished monk-translators and list of theirs are found in Chinese accounts and catalogues. These are as follows :

An-Shi-Kao hailing from Parthia was the most renowned of the earliest batch of Buddhist apostles reaching China. Shi-Kao was an aracidan (Ansi) prince who renounced the world giving up his kingdom to his uncle to become a Buddhist monk. He went to China in 148 A. D. and settled in a white horse monastery.¹ During his 22 years stay in China at the Loyang Monastery he himself to the introduction of the Buddhist literature in China. He is said to have translated 179 Sanskrit sutras into Chinese language. Out of these, 96 texts are mentioned in one of the most important Chinese Catalogues of Buddhist books, the K'ai-yuan, he compiled in 730 A. D. while 55 works are mentioned in Nanjio's Catalogue.² All the 179 texts are, however, mentioned by Bagchi in his "Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine".³ A large section of Shi-kao's works are extracts from the Āgamas, 21 sutras of Shi-kao with the existing Chinese texts of the Āgamas have been indentified by Anesaki. The school founded by him was called by the Chinese "unrivalled".

A year or two after An-shi-kao i.e. 147 A. D., another monk Lokakṣema (Chi-lu-kia-chau) a Saka of Central Asia went to China. The name of Lokakṣema has been mistakably read by Tibetan historian as Culikākṣa. He is responsible for the first Chinese translation of a recension of the Prajñāpāramitā known as Dasasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā. 23 works in 26 fasciculi are mentioned

1. P. C. Bagchi, *Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine*, Tome 1, p. 8.

2. Bunyiu Nanjio, *A catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka*, App. II, p. 4.

3. *Ibid*, pp. 13-16.

in Khai-yun-lu and by Bagchi in his "Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine".¹ Out of 23 works of his, 12 are mentioned in Nanjio's Catalogue.²

The next Central Asian Buddhist, An-Hiuen went to Lo-yang Monastery in A. D. 181 as a merchant and later on became "the Head Officer of Cavalry". In collaboration with Chinese monks he translated *Ugra Paripṛcchā*, a work of great importance. An-Hiuen's other work is the *Agamokta-dvādasa nidāna* sutra (Nanjio 1339) which is a treatise on the twelve causes or *nidānas* explained according to the *Āgamas* of the Sarvastivādins.

The Śāka or Yueh-chih monk Chi-yao is said to have come from Central Asia. This Śāka monk translated eleven sutras but 10 works are mentioned in the Khai-yun-lu. Two of his extant translations are from the *Samyuktāgama*. One is a sutra on the eight characters of a bad horse compared with those of bad man, and the other a sutra on the three characteristic marks of a good horse.

Two others were Sogdian monks K'ang-kiu and K'ang-mong-siang. 6 works of K'ang-mong-siang are mentioned by Prof. Bagchi. These are the following :

1. Kurmanidāna Śrīphala Sutra (T'chang-pen-ki-king).
2. Nidāna Caryā Sūtra (Hing-ki-hing-king).
3. Sutra on Sariputra and Maudgalyāyana's going through the four roads (Che-li-fo-mou-lien-yeou Sse-kiu-king).
4. Brahmajāla sutra (Fan kang-king).
5. Pao-fou-king.
6. Catussatya Sūtra (Sse-ti-king)

The Kuchean monks also played a considerable role in the propagation of Buddhism during the first few centuries of the Christian era. It began with great Kumārajīva who was taken to China as a prisoner by a Chinese General at the conclusion of a military expedition against Kuci. Kumārajīva (Kiu-mo-lo-shi) was born in Kieu-tsu (Kucha) in the year 343 A. D. when the Emperor K'ang-ti of the Tsin Dynasty ruled over China. His grandfather came from India and settled down at Kucha. His father Kumārāyana

1. Bunyiu Nanjio, A Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripitaka, App. II, p. 38.

2. Ibid, p. 6.

remained an Indian in his mode of life. He went to Kucha and settled there. The Chieftain of the Kucha State had a sister named Jivā, Kumārāyana married her. She gave birth to a child who was named Kumārajīva.

Kumārajīva in his boyhood visited Kasmir and several important centres of Buddhist culture in Central Asia with his mother and returned in Kucha in 352 A. D. The fame of the Kuchean monk soon crossed the desert and reached the court of earlier T'sin.

The following account of Kumārajīva is given in the Memoirs of Eminent Priests :

“There were two princes of So-che State who wished to be monks. The older was named Sriyana Bhadra and the younger Sriyana Somo. It is learnt that younger was a great scholar and followed Mahāyāna Buddhism. Kumārajīva sat at his feet and was influenced by him. Somo had explained to him the meaning of Sutra Anavatapta. From that time Kumārajīva decided to give up his faith in Hināyana Buddhism and made up his mind to go deep into Vaipulya Sutra and Dyādasanikāya Sastra.”¹

Kumārajīva came to Chang-an in 401 A. D. and the Emperor who was eagerly expecting the monk, made him at once the Kuo-shih or Rajyaguru.

According to the Memoirs of Eminent Priests the number of works translated by Kumārajīva in Chang-an was more than three hundred. Prof. Bagchi mentions 106 works of Kumārajīva. But in Nanjio's Catalogue we find the existence of fifty works of Kumārajīva, few of these are mentioned below :

1. Pañcaviṃśasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā.
2. Dasasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā.
3. Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā.
4. Paññā Paripṛcchā.
5. Bodhihrdaya Vyūha Sūtra.
6. Dasabhumika Sutra.
7. Vimalākirti Nirdeśa.
8. Mahāmāyuri Vidyārajñi etc.²

1. J. Nobel, Central Asia, the connecting link between East & West, p. 22.

2. Nanjio, App. VI, p. 11.

THE MŪLAPARIYĀYA SUTTA AND THE DHAMMACAKKAPPAVATTANA SUTTA

(A COMPARATIVE STUDY)

—*Binayendra Nath Chaudhury*

The Mūlapariyāya Sutta i.e., “The Discourse on the original cause of all phenomena” or “Discourse on the synopsis of fundamentals” delivered in the Subhaga forest at Ukkatṭhā, is the first sutta of the Majjhimanikāya. The object of this discourse is to establish that all beings and things seen, heard or thought have only phenomenal existence, in reality they are not so as they appear to a common man. It strikes the keynote of the entire doctrine of Buddhism. The popular aspect of this sutta is to be found in the Mūlapariyāya Jātaka which refutes the theory of universal influence of Time (Kāla) over all phenomena as inculcated in the Mahābhārata. The sutta also gives us idea about some aspects of Buddhist cosmological conceptions.

In the way of explanation the sutta enumerates the four great elements (mahābhūtā), viz., paṭhavī, i.e., earth which is, according to the commentary, an element, a fundamental or essential part of every existing thing or extension and has four aspects, viz., (i) lakkhaṇapaṭhavī i.e., earth having characteristic feature ; (ii) sasambhāra-paṭhavī i.e., earth having ingredients or constituent parts ; (iii) ālambana-paṭhavī i.e., earth as a subject of meditation ; (iv) sammuti-paṭhavī i.e. earth so called by convention, which, according to Dr. B. M. Barua, is the name of a goddess ; āpa (Sk. ap) i.e., water which is the element of cohesion ; the characteristic of water is that it unifies atoms (bandhanattam rūpassa) ; like earth it also has four aspects ; teja i.e., fire which is the element of heat and vāyo i.e., air which is the element of motion. The sutta next enumerates various kinds of beings which are as follows :

Bhūtas i.e., beings of hell, animals and the world of men ; according to Dr. Barua, beings are those who are born in the womb (yonisambhūta).

Devas i.e., gods. According to the commentary, devas are those who shine with the five strands of sense-pleasures or with their own natural power (Tattha dibbanti pañcahi kāmagaṇehi attano vā iddhiyā ti devā); they amuse themselves (kiṇanti) and illumine (jotenti). They are threefold : sammutidevā i.e., devas by convention such as kings, queens, princes (sammutidevā nāma rājāno, deviyo, kumārā); upapatti devā i.e., gods who are reborn or uprisen such as Cātummahārājika and devas beyond them (tatuttarim); visuddhi devā i.e., the devas of purity such as arahants whose cankers are destroyed (khīṇāsavā). Here devas refer to those who are born in six kāma worlds (kāmāvacarā).

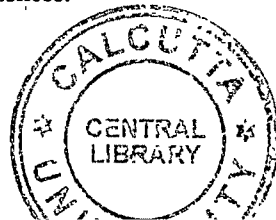
Pajāpati (Sk. Prajāpati) i.e., the lord of creation, but here it is to be called Māra (ettha pana Māro Pajāpatī ti veditabbo) who, according to the story described in the commentary, pretends to be so.

Brahmā—here refers to the first being having age of kalpa years (Idha pana paṭhamābhiniḍḍatto kappāyuko Brahmā adhippeto). Ābhassarā (Sk. Ābhāsvarā) i.e., the Radiant ones, so called because rays emerge out of their bodies (etesam sarirato ābhā chijjivā chijjivā patanti viya sarati visaratī ti ābhassarā). Subhakiṇṇā (Sk. Subhakṛtsna) i.e., the Lustrous ones who are so called because they possess auspicious and golden complexion (subhena okiṇṇā vikiṇṇā subhena sarirappabhāvaṇṇena ekaghanā suvaṇṇamañjusāya ṭhapita-sampajjalita-kañcanapiṇḍa-sassirikayāti. Vehapphalā (Sk. Vṛhatphalā) i.e., those having great fruition such as the Brahmās of the plane of the fourth stage of meditation (vipulā phalā ti Vehapphalā, catutthajjhānabhūmi-Brahmāno vuccanti).

Abhibhu or Overlord i.e., being surpassing all others. According to the commentary, this is a synonym of being without perception (asaññābhāvassa etam adhivacanam)—hence far advanced in contemplative process.

Ākāśanañcāyatana — beings which move about in the realm or plane of infinite space. This and the three following planes are the fifth to the eighth of the nine stages in the contemplative processes.

Viññānañcāyatana — beings which have consciousness only ; they move about in the realm of infinite consciousness.



Ākiñcaññāyatana — beings in the realm of Naught where they have no desire good or bad.

Nevasaññā-nāsaññāyatana — beings in the realm of neither perception nor non-perception where the perceptive faculty of beings is almost nil.

Besides these, the sutta tells us that even whatever is seen (diṭṭha) and heard (suta) by both physical and divine eye and ear, thought (mūta), known (viññāta) and the terms like unity (ekatta), diversity or multiplicity (nānatta), universality (sabbam) and even the notion of nibbāna appear as reality. Here the term nibbāna is not used in the Buddhist sense, but it signifies the enjoyment of the five kinds of sensual pleasures upheld by the Diṭṭhadhamma-nibbāna-vādins as mentioned in the Brahmajāla Suttanta. The ordinary common man regards this nibbāna as the highest goal in this very life.

In the Mūlapariyāya sutta Buddha draws a line of demarcation between the unwise ordinary man (anariyo pothujjano) and the wise arhat and the Tathāgata who hold an altogether opposite views. The sutta tells us that an uninstructed ordinary man (assutavā puthujjano), who has not properly seen the noble ones (ariyā) and the true men (sappurisā), is unskilled (akovidō) and untrained (avinīto) in their dharma, owing to the lack of proper comprehension (apariññātaṃ) perceives or recognises (sañjānāti) superficially earth as earth, and so perceiving establishes a relationship between himself and the earth, he thinks (maññati) : “I am in the earth or from the earth and the earth is mine” and he rejoices in earth due to thirst and craving (paṭhavim taṇhā diṭṭhito abhinandati assādeti parāmasati) and he, according to Buddhaghosa, who thinks in these ways, is not able to get rid of his false view or of craving for earth. But a bhikkhu who is still under training (sekho), not yet attained perfection (appattamānaso) but who lives striving for the incomparable security (anuttaraṃ yogakkhemaṃ patthayamāno viharati) must bring himself to comprehend (Pariññeyyo) everything as it is in its reality. The sutta further tells us that the monk who is a perfect one (arahā), has destroyed four kinds of cankers, viz, kāmāsava (canker for sensual pleasure), bhavāsava (canker for existence), diṭṭhi-āsava (canker for wrong-view) and avijjāsava (canker for ignorance), has lived the life according to the ten ariyan modes (vūṣitavā), has done

what is to be done (katakaraṇīyo), laid down the burden (ohita-bhāro), attained his own goal (anuppattasadattho), whose fetters of becoming are utterly destroyed (parikhīṇabhavasamyojano) and is freed by perfect knowledge (sammadaññāvimutto), knows more intuitively than common men (abhijānāti) the earth (paṭhavi) and other things mentioned above and does not make relationship between himself and them, and so he does not rejoice in them. It is because of the fact that it is thoroughly understood (pariññātaṃ) by him due to his freedom from attachment (khayā rāgassa vitarāgattā), freedom from hatred (khayā dosassa vītaḍḍattā) and freedom from delusion (khayā mohassa vītamohattā).

Similar is the case with the Tathāgata himself who is perfect one and well enlightened (sammā sambuddho) and has thoroughly understood the real nature of the earth and other things and so he does not rejoice in them. It is because of the fact that, he, having known that delight is the root of sorrow (nandi dukkhassa mūlaṃ) knows that from becoming (bhavā) there is birth (jāti) and there is old age and dying for the being (bhūtassa jarāmaraṇaṃ). Buddha declares to the assembled monks that he has become well enlightened to the excellent perfect enlightenment (sammāsambodhiṃ abhisambuddho) by destroying all cravings (sabbaso taṇhānaṃ khayā), by dispassion (virāgā), by stopping (nirodhā), by abandoning (cāgā) and by complete renouncing (paṭinissaggā).

In the Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta i.e. "Discourse on the Turning of the Wheel of Law" or "Discourse on the Establishment of the Kingdom of Righteousness" delivered at the Deer Park in Vārāṇasī as the first sermon which is included in the Vinaya-piṭaka and the Saṃyutta Nikāya, Buddha instructed the Group of five monks (Pañcavaggiyā Bhikkhū) to avoid the two extremes (dve ante) viz., (i) that which is, "among sense-pleasures, addiction to attractive sense-pleasures, low of the villager, of the average man, unariyan and not connected with the goal" (kāmesu kāmasukhallikānuyogo hīno gammo pothujjaniko anariyo anattasamphito), and (ii) that which is "addiction to self-torment, ill, unariyan and not connected with the goal" (attakilamathānuyogo dukkho anariyo anattasamphito) and follow the Middle Path (majjhimā paṭipadā) otherwise called the Noble Eightfold Path (ariya-aṭṭhaṅgika-magga) "fully awakened

to by the Tathāgata making for vision, making for knowledge, which conduces to calming, to super-knowledge to nirvāṇa” (ayaṃ kho sā majjhimā paṭipadā Tathāgatena abhisambuddhā cakkhukaraṇī ñāṇakaraṇī abhiññāya sambodhāya nibbānāya samvattati). Then buddha explained to them the four noble truths (cattāri ariya-saccāni) in detail. At the end of the discourse Koṇḍañña realised the truth : “Whatever comes to be must end in dissolution (yaṃ samudayadhammaṃ sabbaṃ taṃ nirodhadhammaṃ) which reveals the impermanence of the worldly phenomena.

Of the two suttas the Dhammacakkappavattana sutta may be considered as earlier than the Mūlapariyāya sutta not only because of the fact that the former is traditionally accepted as the first sermon but also that it contains the ethical tenets of early Buddhism. The naming of the Mūlapariyāya sutta can be best accounted for by the single expression contained in the sutta itself : sabbadhammāmūlapariyāyaṃ desissāmi i.e. “I shall teach the synopsis of the fundamentals of all things”. Actually the sutta in a nutshell, as already stated, seeks to explain that all worldly phenomena such as the four great elements, all kinds of beings, etc. are existent as they appear in the eyes of the ordinary common man but in the eyes of the arhats and the Tathāgata they are unreal and so impermanent. It is remarkable that even, if misconceived, nibbāna is included in these worldly objects. Nibbāna is not an object to be obtained, but it can be realised within oneself through attainment perfect knowledge for which the Dhammacakkappavattana sutta prescribes a scheme of moral and contemplative practices. Thus we see that the ontological basis of Buddhism, which is probably the source of later philosophical speculations of the Mahāyāna thinkers, is given in the Mūlapariyāya sutta, while the ethical basis of Buddhism is given in the Dhammacakkappavattana sutta.

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BUDDHISM IN ANCIENT BENGAL

—*Kanai Lal Hazra*

Vaṅga was the ancient name of Bengal. The Pali canon does not refer to it. There is no reference to it in the list of the sixteen Mahājanapadas. The Milindapañha which was composed in the 1st century B. C. mentions Vaṅga “as a maritime country where ships congregated for purposes of trade”. A Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription of the 2nd or 3rd century A. D. says that the monks from Ceylon converted the people of Vaṅga to Buddhism. It refers to Vaṅga as a very well-known place. The Ceylonese chronicles describe that a Vaṅga princess was the mother of Sihabāhu and Sihasivali and she became the queen of the king of Kaliṅga. The Aitareya Āraṇyaka and the Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra say that Vaṅga was the name of Bengal proper. Pāṇini in his Aṣṭadhyāyī mentions it. The Bhāgavata Purāṇa and the Kāvya-mīmāṃsā refer to it as a country. The Jaina Prajñāpaṇā says the extension of Vaṅga upto Tamralipti. The Tirumalai Rock inscription of Rājendra Cola of the 11th century A. D. and the Goharwa Plate of Cedi Karmadeva describe Vaṅga as Vaṅgāḷadesam. In the 13th century A. D. Vaṅga or Vaṅgāḷadesam was known as Baṅgāḷa, and the Muslim historians refer to it as Bangla.

Fa-hien, the Chinese pilgrim, came to India in the beginning of the fifth century A.D. and visited many places of India. But he did not go to north Bengal. He spent two years in Tamralipti or Tamralipta (Tamluk) in the district of Midnapur in South Bengal. Here he found twenty-two monasteries which were occupied by many Buddhist monks. His account throws considerable light on the flourishing condition of Buddhism in Tamralipti in South Bengal in the beginning of the fifth century A. D. Hiuen-tsang, another Chinese pilgrim, visited this place in the seventh century A. D. He found here about 1000 Buddhist monks who used to live in ten Buddhist monasteries. It was an important centre of the Sarvāstivāda

sect and the Buddhist monks of this place were probably the Sarvāstivādins. Because, I-tsing, the Chinese pilgrim, belonged to the Sarvāstivāda sect and resided here for sometime. Here he learnt Sanskrit and the Śabdavidyā. Tao-lin, the Chinese pilgrim, took keen interest in the doctrines of the Sarvāstivāda school and spent here three years. Ta-Ch'eng-ten or Ta-ching-teng or Ch'eng-teng, the Chinese pilgrim, came in the 7th century A. D. and stayed in a monastery in Tamralipti for about 12 years. Here he devoted his time and energy to study the Buddhist Sanskrit texts.

Hiuen-tsang refers to Pun-na-fa-tan-na or Puṇḍravardhana or Puṇḍravardhana which was an important centre of Buddhism. The major portion of North Bengal was known as Puṇḍravardhana or Puṇḍravardhanabhukti. It became an integral part of the Gupta empire from A.D. 443 to 543 and was governed by a line of Uparika mahārājas as vassals of the Gupta emperor." In the time of the Pala rulers (circa 730-1060 A. D.) Puṇḍravardhanabhukti must have comprised a larger area, while the Sena kings must have ruled over a still larger division. Alexander Cunningham identifies the present ruins of Mahāsthān or Mahāsthāngarh, which was seven miles north of the modern town of Bogra, with the ancient city of Puṇḍravardhana.

Hiuen-tsang visited Puṇḍravardhana in the seventh century A. D. He says that it was 4000 li in circuit and its capital was more than 30 li. He found here about twenty-three monasteries which were occupied by three thousand Buddhist monks of the Hīnayāna and the Mahāyāna schools. This place also had one hundred Deva temples and Jainism also flourished there. About seven hundred Mahāyāna monks also lived in a Saṅghārāma called Po-shih-po or Po-ki-sha. From the above facts it is clear that Buddhism flourished in Puṇḍravardhana in the seventh century A. D. Puṇḍravardhana occupied an important place in the political as well as in the religious history of Bengal for several centuries. But it lost its importance and glory from about the middle of the 12th century A. D. Because, the later Sena rulers of Bengal first made Deopara in the Rajshahi district, their capital and afterwards, Gauḍa in the Malda district became their capital. The Mahommedans occupied Puṇḍravardhana towards the end of the 13th or at the beginning of the 14th century A. D.

Samatāṭa was an important kingdom of Bengal. The Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta refers to it as one of the most important among the north-east Indian frontier kingdoms which was conquered by Samudragupta, the Gupta emperor. It became a part of the larger divisions of Vaṅga. The *Brhatsamhitā* first refers to it. Some scholars identify it with the delta of the Ganges and Brahmaputra. They say further that it comprises the modern districts of Tipperah, Noakhali, Sylhet and most probably portions of Bengal. But some scholars think that Samatāṭa was Jessore. They state that it comprises Gauḍadeśa (Malda), Pandua and Mahāsthāna, seven miles north of Bogra, now in Bangla Deśa. Hiuen-tsang found here thirty monasteries which were occupied by 2000 Buddhist monks who were followers of the Sthavira schools. The Chinese pilgrim refers to this country as San-mo-ta-cha. It was about 3000 li in circuit. It was an important centre of Buddhism. It had many Buddhist monasteries.

Sengchi or Sheng-chi or Seng-Tche, another Chinese pilgrim, came to India in the third quarter of the seventh century A.D. He gives us a picture of Buddhism in Samatāṭa in his time. He says that Rājabhāṭa, or Rajabhāṭa, who was the king of the country, was a devout worshipper of Triratna. It is said that the king used to make every day hundred thousand images of the Buddha in clay for his daily offerings, and used to read hundred ślokas from the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā sūtra*. He also took keen interest in taking out processions in honour of the Buddha, with an image of Avalokiteśvara at the front and on these occasions he made pious and liberal gifts. Seng-Tche found in this city about 4000 monks and nuns in his time. The Khaḍga dynasty ruled over Southern and eastern Bengal in the middle of the seventh century A. D. Samatāṭa was under the rule of the Khaḍga rulers when Hiuen-tsang and Seng-Tche visited this country. Most probably, Rājabhāṭa was a ruler of this dynasty. He was a follower of the Mahāyāna faith. The Khaḍga rulers were great patrons of Buddhism. Hiuen-tsang and Seng-Tche found the flourishing condition of Buddhism in Samatāṭa during the rule of the Khaḍga dynasty. The form of Buddhism which prospered in the reign of Rājabhāṭa was the Mahāyāna. Under the patronage of the rulers of Bengal, Nālandā became an eminent centre of Buddhism. "The Buddhist scholars and kings of Bengal in the 6th and 7th

centuries A. D. as in later times, largely contributed to the development of that institution. The great Śīlabhadra, who was the abbot of Nālandā, when Hiuen-tsang went there, was a scion of Brahmanical royal family of Samatāṭa.” He was the preceptor of the Chinese pilgrim. Bodhibhadra was the nephew of Śīlabhadra. The Candra dynasty became the master of the whole of Vaṅga including Samatāṭa. But, in the beginning of the 11th century A.D., the Varmans captured Samatāṭa from the Candra rulers. Towards the end of the 11th century A. D. the Senas, who occupied the throne of Bengal, took the possession of Samatāṭa from the Varmans.

The Kailān inscription of Śrīdhāraṇa Rāta of the second half of the seventh century A.D. refers to the prosperous condition of Buddhism in Samatāṭa. The king at the request of his minister Jayanātha gave lands to a Buddhist monastery for the provision of food and clothing of monks and also for the performance of the ceremonies of the five Mahāyājñas. From a land-grant of king Raṇavaṅkamalla to a Buddhist monastery in 1220 A. D., it is known that this part of Bengal remained as a centre of Buddhism even in the first half of the thirteenth century A. D.

From the Nidhānpur copper plates of Bhāskaravarman, we learn that Śaśāṅka, the Gauḍa king, once made Karṇasuvarṇa his capital. Some scholars identify Rāṅgāmātī in the district of Murshidabad on the western coast of the Ganges with the site of Karṇasuvarṇa. B. C. Law located this place at a distance of 94 miles from Bandel and a mile and a half to the south-east of Chirati railway station. Hiuen-tsang refers to this kingdom as kie-lo-na-su-fa-la-na. It was about 14 or 15 hundred li in circuit.

Hiuen-tsang found in Karṇasuvarṇa about 2000 Buddhist monks of the Sammitiya school. They lived in ten manasteries. The Chinese traveller then refers to three other monasteries. He found in these monasteries some Buddhist monks who belonged to the sect of Devadatta, the Buddha's cousin, who brought a schism in the Buddhist Saṅgha. He then mentions that near the capital there was a magnificent monastery which was known as the Lo-to-mo-chi (Raktamṛttikā—modern Rāṅgāmātī) vihāra. A king of the country erected it in honour of a Buddhist monk from South India before

the arrival of Buddhism in this country. This Buddhist monk defeated his South Indian opponent, who belonged to another system, in a public discussion. This monastery became famous for its illustrious monks.

I-tsing in his account mentions that the four Nikāyas flourished side by side in Bengal. From several historical records it is known that before the Pāla rulers came to power in Eastern India in the latter half of the 8th century A. D., there were several petty local rulers in various parts of Bengal. They were the Candras, the Bhadrās, the Khaḍgas, the Varmans etc. Not only the Pāla rulers but some of the rulers of these dynasties also were great patrons of Buddhism and made valuable contributions to its development and prosperity in Bengal. From the Rāmapāla Copper Plate we learn that Suvarṇacandra, the second king of the Candra dynasty, was a devout Buddhist. His descendants also showed their learnings towards Buddhism. Tantric Buddhism prospered in Bengal during the rule of the Candra Kings. Gopīcandra of this dynasty was closely associated by tradition with a particular form of mysticism.

From the 8th century A.D. to 12th century A. D., the Pālas ruled over Eastern India. They were followers of Buddhism. They played prominent roles for the development of Buddhism in Eastern India. They always referred to themselves as Parama-Saṅgha and offered prayer to the Buddha at the beginning of their official records which indicates "a new ideology of Buddha and Bodhisattva in the most developed mahāyāna form". Thus "during this period that mahāyāna Buddhism under the patronage of the Pālas became a powerful international force and exercised dominant influence in the area extending from north to the islands of the Malay Archipelago in the south". The first Pāla ruler was Gopāla. The Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa gives an account of the development of Buddhism under the patronage of Gopāla. He established a great monastery at Uddandapura or Uddantapuri. He erected a monastery at Nālandā. He also constructed several vihāras in his kingdom. V. A. Smith says, "All the Pāla kings without exception were jealous Buddhists, ready to bestow liberal patronage on learned teachers and the numerous monastic communities. Dharmapāla, clearly a man of exceptional capacity, is credited with the merit of having been an ardent reformer of

religion. His successors in the 11th century, who were devoted to Tantric forms of Buddhism, enjoyed the services of many pious men, among whom Atiśa,..... was the most eminent." It is known from various records that Dharmapāla is said to have founded fifty religious institutions. He was the founder of the Vikramasīla Mahāvihāra as well as the Somapurī monastery. Buddhism reached the zenith of its glory in the Pāla period. Under their patronage great Buddhist monasteries like Vikramasīla, Odantapurī, Somapurī and Jagaddala were erected. In course of time they became quite well-known in the Buddhist world. Apart from them, there were also other famous monasteries which prospered during the Pāla period. They were the Traikutaka vihāra in the Rādhā country, Paṇḍitavihāra in Chittagong, Pattikeraka vihāra in Tippera and Sannagar vihāra. Many famous Buddhist scholars flourished during this period. They were Śāntarakṣita, Atiśa Dipaṅkara, Śrījñāna, Abhayakaragupta, Hariḥbhadrā, Mokṣaragupta, Subhākaragupta, Ratnakīrti, Dharmakīrti etc. During the Pāla period the Vajrayāna, the Kālacakrayāna and the Sahajayāna—the three systems of Tantric Buddhism flourished. Not only from several Buddhist texts but also from inscriptions and sculptures belonged to the Pālas, we learn that an inter-mixture of Buddhism and Brahmanism developed at that time.

The Sena rulers took the throne of Bengal after the Pālas. Samantadeva or Samantasena, who was the founder of the Sena dynasty, came from the Deccan. His grandson was Vijayasena (c. A. D. 1070-1108). He was an independent sovereign and occupied a large part of the Bengal province from the Pālas. He thus established the Sena dynasty with a solid foundation. The next ruler was Vallālasena or Ballāl Sena (c. A. D. 1108-1119). He became famous for the reorganization of the caste system and the introduction of the practice of 'Kulinism' among Brāhmaṇas, Baidyas and Kayasthas. Lakashmanasena, his son, succeeded him in A. D. 1119. He is said to have occupied the throne of Bengal for about eighty years. In A. D. 1199 Kutb-ud-din's general, Muhammad, the son of Bakhtyar, invaded Nadia, the capital of the Senas, and overthrew the Sena dynasty.

All the Sena kings were followers of Brahmanism. They took keen interest in it and contributed largely to its development. That

is why, they showed their hostile attitude towards the Pāla rulers, who were devout Buddhists. R. C. Mitra says, "In the Sena period, Buddhism must have suffered a natural setback as the kings were strong supporters of orthodox Brahmanical principles. Signs are not wanting to suggest that the decline of Buddhism had begun much earlier, even in the days of the Pālas. A religion that leans mainly on royal patronage for its sustenance stands already on slender foundation. The sources of inspiration seem to have dried up in the beginning of the 12th century. Not to speak of any great literary product of this century, one is discouraged by the conspicuous paucity of Buddhist images in this period even though Pāla rulers continued to hold sway till the second quarter of the 12th century. The rule of the Senas has been characterised by historians as an era of orthodoxy." The Senas tried to maintain their caste-system in a proper way. Ballāl Sen sent several times his Brāhmana people as missionaries to Magadha, Bhutan, Chittagong, Arakan, Orissa and Nepal. Buddhism suffered very much at the hands of the Senas. Due to want of proper patronage, it lost its importance and glory and gradually declined from this region of India during the Sena period. Its disappearance took place when Bengal was invaded by the Muhammadans in A. D. 1199 in the reign of Lakshmanasena. It then took its shelter in Chittagong in Bengal (now in Bangla desa) which still retains its place as an important centre of Buddhism.

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THE RAINY SEASON MIRRORED IN THE THERAGĀTHĀ

—Asha Das

The earlier Theragāthā sparkles with the vigour and freshness of the morning of Buddhism. The songs rise spontaneously to the lips of the learned theras, as the reaction of a sensitive heart to the beauty of existence and transitoriness of the human life etc. In the Theragāthā we are introduced at once to something new which no one hitted upon before, something incomparably great and enduring for all times. The spontaneity of inner inspiration is realised better in the vivid descriptions of stormy cloud and heavy rain.

There are closer parallelism in the description of the rainy season in the Rāmāyaṇa and Theragāthā. In the epic Rāmāyaṇa is found the description entitled 'S'rīrāmena varṣatorvarṇanam' (28 Canto) Here is an example of how it is described :

वर्षप्रवेगा विपुलाः पतन्ति
प्रवान्ति वाताः समुदीर्नघोषाः
प्रनष्टकूलाः प्रवहन्ति शीघ्रं ।
नद्यो जलं विप्रतिपन्नमार्गैः ॥ (28/45)

Vālmiki paints a picture on the vast canvas of the earth as :

एषा धर्म्परिक्लिष्टा नववारिपरिप्लुता
... ..
रजः प्रशान्तं सहिमोऽद्य वायु
निदाघदोषप्रसराः प्रशान्ताः (28/15)

The mountain streams flow impetuously, with the voice of their water blending with the 'ke-kā' cry of the peacocks. The soft humming of the bees, the croaking of the frogs and rumbling of the clouds, create sounds of orchestra in the forest (Kīṣkindhā Kāṇḍa, Canto 28). The language is throughout chaste and refined. Vālmiki is more skilled in the use of Upamā and Rūpaka.

Beautiful description of the rainy season is also found in the *Ṛtusamphāra* of Kālidāsa. After the tropical summer the rainy season comes like a mightily king to drive away the oppressive summer. The clouds are the elephants which bear him in royal procession, the lightning is his streaming eyes and the thunder is the peal of the royal drums. The river is full of new water, muddy, insects, dust and grass, and running in a zig-zag course like a serpent, comes down to a low level. Kālidāsa's rainy season is also full of romantic intimations. With the rain-bow and with showers of rain as arrows, the season attacks the hearts of those who are separated from their beloved ; whereas the rainy season in the *Theragāthā* is serene, tranquil and calm. It also creates trance within the mind of the *theras*.

In the *Meghadūta* we find rainy season with blending of romantic theme and landscape-painting. The story of the book is a message which an exile sends by cloud as a messenger to his wife dwelling far away. The exile is a *Yakṣa* or attendant of Kubera, the god of wealth. He sees, at the approach of the rainy season, a dark cloud moving northwards. The sight fills his heart with yearning and impels him to address to the cloud a request to convey a message of hope to his beloved wife in the remote *Himālaya*. The description of rainy season that follows in this *Kāvya* is full of tender human touches. But the rainy season painted is a totally different picture on the vast canvas of the earth and sky, though this picturesque description is without any human figure.

Let us now study the rainy season carefully from the *Theragāthā*. Here cry of peacocks, the grassy slopes of the forest, the pendulous chain of the flocks of cranes, the joyous croaking of the frogs and rumbling of the clouds all create rhythms all around us. The poet—*thera* Subhuti's *gāthā* in one stanza deserves special attention. The *gāthā* is composed in mixed metres of *Aupacchandāsaka* and *Śloka*. Subhuti was born in the family of councillor Sumana, younger brother of *Anāthapiṇḍika* of *Rājagaha*. Once the people of *Rājagaha* were greatly oppressed with a horrible drought. Then Subhuti sends a message ending with the words 'Vassa devāti' ! to the rain-god for heavy rain on earth. Here finer is the evocation of the rain, poetically personified as 'Deva', the rain-god. The personification is more developed under the name of 'Parjanya' who is invoked in three

hymns of the R̥gveda. He is always closely connected with the phenomenon of the rain-storm, in which the rain-cloud becomes an udder, pail or a water-skin. His activity is described in very vivid strains. The Parjanya whips up the harbingers of rain with wild uproar, deep as the distant roar of the lion. Swiftly he mobilises his clouds for rain. The wind rushes, the lightning falls stroke on stroke. The rain flood makes the heights and hollows equal. In the Maccha Jātaka (No. 75) 'Pajjunna' was characteristically a shedder of rain. Here Bodhisatta, who in that birth was a fish and dwelt in a pond, called 'Pajjunna', the King of Devas, to pour rain from heaven so as to save his kinsfolk from death. There was also a severe drought in the land,—the crops withered, water evaporated from tank and pool. Seeing the unfavourable fate of water-animal Bodhisatta invoked rain-god uttering the verse—

Abhitthanaya Pajjunna, nidhim kākassa nāsaya,
kākaṃ sokāya randhehi,mañ ca sokā pamocayāti.
(Jātaka, Vol. I, Fausboll, p 332)

Pajjuna, thunder ! Baffle, thwart, the crow !
Breed sorrow's pangs in him ; ease me of woe !
(The Jātaka, Vol. I, Cowell, p 184)

This gāthā may be called song of praise or adoration to cloud. Godhika, Subāhu, Valliya and Uttiya—these four great theras composed four verses in the Aupacchandasaka metre. They dwelt in the unroofed huts. So at the time of rains, the god did not rain there. Afterwards the king roofed their huts. Then from the north and the east arose a great storm. The excessive heat was succeeded by the rains which were announced by the approach of the dark heavy clouds with their banner of lightning and drum of thunder. This heavy rain impressed them with vivid descriptions of the beauties of the Nature. Elder Godhika uttered—

'Vassati devo yathā sugītam,
channā me kuṭikā sukhā nivātā.' (52)

'The sky (-deva) rains melodiously ; my small hut is roofed, pleasant, draught-free.' (The Elders' Verses, I, Norman, p 7) This rhetorical address was frequently imitated by other three theras. There are even closer parallelism in their gāthās and 'Suttanipāta.' In the

‘Dhaniya Sutta’ of the ‘Suttanipāṭa’, Dhaniya, a rich herdsman rejoiced his worldly security of happy family life with a good number of cows, devoted wife and obedient sons. He therefore, earnestly requested the rain-god to rain. The Buddha rejoicing in Bliss entreated the sky to rain if it was pleased. Then the heavy rains came down at once.’ The metre of these verses is of a rippling rhythm.

The Elder Cittaka who was the son of a rich brāhmaṇa of Rājagaha, entered the Order and selected a wooded spot for his devotional practice. He dwelt for long on the delights of rain, the second of the six seasons. Soon he attained Arahantship. His fellow brethren asked him “Have you been strenuous in your forest sojourn?” Cittaka uttered a gāthā with one stanza composed in Gaṇacchandas. Here the rainy season is personified as an awaker from sleep. In this beautiful wood-land the peacocks are described as crying their ‘Ke-Kā’ call and the cool breeze was blowing gently after heavy rain.

Nilā sugīvā sikhino mora Kārābiyam abhinandanti
To sītavāta Kalitā, suttaṃ jhāyam nibodhenti ti (22)

‘Blue, with beautiful necks, the crested peacocks call in Karamvī ; urged on by the cool breeze they awaken the sleeper to meditation.’ (Ibid, p 3). Here ‘sītavāta-kalitā’ denotes the musical call of the peacock. Bearing evidence of great wealth of observation and depth of feeling the gāthā is drawn by a master hand. His language is simple and chaste, style refined and dignified.

The gāthās attributed to the poet-thera Vimāla deserve special attention as one of the most remarkable products of Pali Literature. He was born at Rājagaha in a wealthy family. He was named ‘Vimāla’ because, his body was as pure as dewdrop on a lotus-leaf or as that of the Bodhisatta in his last birth. After renunciation he went to dwell in a mountain cave in Kosala. One day a vast stormy cloud spread over the vault of heaven and the rain fell down. The dust settled and a cool wind blew alleviating heat and feverishness. Now Vimāla was able to concentrate himself in deep meditation. Afterwards he exclaimed with joy :

Dharaṇī ca siṅcati vāti māluta vijjutā carati nabhe.
Upasammanti vitakkā, cittaṃ susamāhitaṃ mamān. (50)

‘The earth is sprinkled, the wind blows, lightning flashes in the sky. My thoughts are quietened, my mind is well-concentrated.’ (Ibid, p 7) The verse is composed in Gaṇacchandas metre. The rainy season comes here with a tranquil appearance. His style possesses a calm dignity which is at once appealing and attractive.

Poet therā Sambula Kaccāna lived in a cave called ‘Bheravāyanā’ of the Himālayas. One day there arose a terrible storm towering high in the heaven with its emissaries of thunders and lightning. Thunderbolts burst and lightnings flashed again and again. All creatures of the wood and valley-bears, hyenas, buffaloes, elephants cried out in fear and trembled. But the poet was free from anxieties and he fully devoted himself to meditation. Afterwards the rains came and saturated the earth with continuous sound. Then Sambula wrote two verses in Gaṇacchandas metre. Here musical sound of rainfall is represented in the rhythm of the poem :

Devo ca vāssati devo ca gaḷagaḷāyati (189)

‘The sky (-deva) rains and the sky (-deva) thunders.’ (Ibid, P 23)

Here the translation of the word ‘gaḷagaḷāyati’ is not nearest to the meaning. It is the roar of water, not thunder, i.e. gaṅgaṃ ravati ‘gaḷagaḷāyati’ (KhA 163). Here the word ‘gaḷagaḷāyati’ is expressing the sound of quick pouring out or coming out of rain water. The rain water is also impartial to high and low ; because it rushes down from high to a low land with insects, dust, grass and mud in a zig-zag course. The poet Sambula-Kaccāna’s power of description is great and force of diction admirable.

In the Gāthās of the therā Usabha also we find the blending of poetic quality and landscape painting. He dwelt in the forest at the foot of the mountain. On a certain rainy-morning the clouds unseated themselves from the top of the hills and trees. Groves and creepers became filled with dense foliage. The Thera saw this natural beauty and exclaimed.

Nagā naggēsu susaṃvirūḷhā
Udaggameghena navena sittā, (110)

Viveka kāmassa araṇṇasaṇṇīno
janeti bhiyyo Usabhssa Kalyatanti (111)

‘The trees on the mountain-tops have shot up, well watered by the fresh-rain cloud on high. More and more it produces excellence for Usabha, who desires solitude and possesses forest sentiment.’ (Ibid, p 14) The Gāthā is written in mixed metres of Triṣṭubh and Jagatī. First two lines remain unsurpassed as a masterpiece of its kind, not for its matter, nor for its description, but purely for its poetry.

The Gāthā’s of Vanavaccha therā is an agreeable Gāthā with well-drawn character and many poetical beauties. This single Gāthā is composed in Śloka. His alliterations are beautiful and clear.

Nilabhavaṇṇā rucirā sītavāri sucindharā
indagopaka sañchannā te selā ramayanti manti (13)

‘Those rocks delight me, the colour of the blue clouds, beautiful, with cool waters and pure streams, covered with Indagopaka insects.’ (Ibid, p 2)

Such lines as these, and many more, simply as word-music, may be placed without hesitation besides the passage of Vālmīki or Kālidāsa. In all these Gāthās the plant-world plays an important part and is treated with much charm. Of flowers, the Nāgesvara is the most conspicuous. Many lyrical gems are to be found preserved in the Pali literature, one of such is a stanza on the solemn rock. A parallel idea exists in Vālmīki’s work where this rainy-season in the Rāmāyaṇa suggests some points of resemblance. As for Example :

क्यमिश्रितं सर्ज-कदम्बपुष्पै
नैव जलं पर्वतघातुताम्रम् ।
मयूरकेकाभिरनुप्रयातं
शैलापगा शीघ्रतरं वहन्ति । (28/18)

The Gāthās of the therā Cuḷaka contain several fine lines describing the scenery of the broad landscape well-watered by rain. The therā was born at Rājagaha as a brahmin’s son. After renunciation he dwelt in the Indra-sāl cave. In his life-time he also saw a great storm. At that time black thunder-cloud filled the sky. Afterwards the rain came down with incessant flow. Peacocks on hearing the thunder, joyously uttered their ‘Ke-Kā’ cry and danced

around. The touch of the cool wind brought coolness and comfort to the therā. In this suitable temperature and favourable atmosphere he uttered two verses and won Arahantship. He composed his song of two stanzas in Jagatī metre. At a higher level of poetic creation it creates poetic tissues enriched with alliteration. The following is the specimen :

Nandanti morā susikhā supekḥunā
 Sunīla gīvā sumukhā sugajjino,
 susaddalā cāpi mahāmahi ayam
 suvyāpitambu suvalahakaṃ nabhaṃ (No. 211)

“The fair-crested peacocks cry out, fair-winged with beautiful blue necks, fair-faced and with beautiful song and fine cry, this great earth is well-grassed and well-watered ; the sky has good clouds.” (Ibid, p 26) Here the multi-coloured peacock is the true agent of the rainy season. Cuḷaka is also capable of painting lovely pictures and charming situations.

The poet-therā Sappaka wrote a lyric where nature was mirrored as sympathising with him and exalting with him in his joy. The poet lived in the Loṇagiri Vihāra on the bank of the river Ajakaraṇī. He composed the verses in Jagatī (307-8), Śloka (309) and Aupacchandasaka (310) metres. Besides the expression of emotion, the glowing descriptions of the beauty of Nature is very prominent. Here the poet's deep sympathy with nature, his keen powers of observation, and his skill in depicting a landscape and the river Ajakaraṇī is vivid, colourful and remarkable.

Yadā balākā suci paṇḍaracchadā
 Kālāssa meghassa bhayenā tajjitā
 Palehiti ālayamālayesinī
 tadā nadī Ajakaraṇī rameti maṃ.
 Yadā balākā suvisuddhapaṇḍarā
 Kālāssa meghassa bhayena tajjitā
 pariyesatī lenamalenadassinī
 tadā nadī Ajakaraṇī rameti maṃ.

Kan nu tattha na ramenti jambuyo ubhato taḥiṃ,
 sobhenti āpagā Kūlaṃ mahā lenassa pacchato
 Tāmatamadasaṅgasuppahīnā bhekā mandavatī panādayanti ;

Najjagiri nadihi vippavāsasamayo
· Khema Ajakaraṇī sivā surammā'ti. (No. 307-10)

“When the crane, with clear bright wings terrified by fear of the black cloud, flees to shelter, seeking shelter, then the river Ajakaraṇī delights me.

When the crane, clear and bright, terrified by fear of the black cloud, flees to refuge, not seeing refuge, then the river Ajakaraṇī delights me.

Whom indeed do the jambu trees not delight there on both banks ? They adorn the bank of the river behind my cave.

The deep-voiced frogs, well-rid of the group of those who rejoice in the undying, croak, “Today is not the time for staying away from the hill-streams. The river Ajakaraṇī is safe, pleasant, delightful”.
(Ibid, p 35)

Unforgettable is the river Ajakaraṇī to the poet. In the rainy season the river is full of new and muddy water. The Jambu trees on her both banks now are full of fruits. Here the river is personified as a goddess of success to the Bhikkhu Sappaka. She fulfills his heart with Vivekaja Sukha.

A parallel theme also exists in Valmiki's description where he presents the joyous croaking of the frogs. The following serve as a typical illustration of his dignified poetry :

स्वनैर्धनानां स्रवगाः प्रवृद्धा
विहाय निद्रां चिरसन्निरुद्धाम् ।
अनेकरूपाकृतिवर्णनादा
नवाम्बुधाराभिहता नदन्ति ॥ (28/38)

With the advent of rain, the white wings shelter-seeking crane flees and tries to make a new nests upon the trees. The frogs become excited and lift their voice. Here the poet thera displays the full richness of his fancy and his abundant sympathy with nature. The poem begins as a human and richly sensitive reaction to the beauty of life and nature, the loveliness of white-wings crane, the glory of the river Ajakaraṇī, the responsive bonds between nature and

creaturely life. The description of the beautiful scenery of the both banks of the river and other natural objects shows true literary merit. Here the river and whole river side is touched by Sappaka.

The poet-thera Tālapuṭa composed his long poem with the group of fifty verses in various metres. These Gāthās, however, abound in wise maxims and fine thoughts. The close heat is succeeded by the rains which are announced by the approach of the dark clouds and greetings of the peacock. The rain saturates the earth and causes the earth to be covered with young blades of grass, which resembles as a bright and soft couch. The following lines, in which the Thera describes, this young blades of grass may serve as a specimen :

Vṭṭhamhi deve caturaṅgule tiṇe
Samphuphite meghanibhamhi Kānane,
Nagantare viṭapi samosayissam
taṃ me mudu hehiti tulasannibham. (No. 1137)

‘When the sky (-deva) has rained, when the grass is four fingers high, when the grove is in full flower, like a cloud, I shall lie among the mountains like a tree. It will be soft for me, like cotton’ (ibid, p 104). The style of Tālapuṭa’s Gāthā is simple, clear and attractive ; the language is easy and graceful, but word-plays are rare.

The Thera Gāthā’s treatment of nature deserves detailed comment. Firstly, we see in the Thera Gāthā a grandeur development of the sensitiveness of the beauty of rainy season, which we get in the Rāmāyaṇa and Kālidāsa. Secondly, the land-scape painting is without any human figure. Thirdly, Nature is seen as sympathising with the Theras. Talented treatment can make the plan effective ; but there is always weakness inherent in it, since the greatest skill can never make up quite forget that the Thera Gāthā is after all devotional contribution to the Pali literature. Fourthly, the Thera Gāthā contains many beauties, and is altogether a rich treasury of popular Indian lyrical poetry. The excellence of the Gāthās lies in the fact that they converse the poetic approach and aesthetic sensibility. The highest teachings are given here in literary settings, decorated with similes and metaphors. Lastly, the Theras are one with Nature. Their power of observation is great ; they can speak to and listen from clouds, mountains and rivers.*

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RECENT DISCOVERIES OF THE BUDDHIST SANSKRIT
NARRATIVE LITERATURE WITH REFERENCE TO
JĀTAKAMĀLĀ OF HARIBHATṬA

S. C. Sarkar

It is known to all that the Buddhist literature developed through two wings—one through Pāli and other through Sanskrit, better known as Buddhist Sanskrit. Roughly from the time of Kaniska specially in India the Buddhist took up Sanskrit language as the medium of preaching their religion to keep pace with the demand of the day and particularly to enlighten the Sanskrit-knowing people of different religious faith about the Buddhist truth and forms of the religion. Naturally they possibly took resort to the then popular spoken language of the region which was admixed with Middle Indic characteristics of Indian language. Of course some of these works were written in pure Pāṇinian Sanskrit even then these are designed now-a-days as Buddhist Sanskrit-compositions for comprising Buddhist thought and theme. Besides the philosophical treatises and texts a good number of narrative literature called Avadānas and Jātaka-mālās grew up even down to the 13th century A.D. approximately to extol the efficacy of karma and other popular Buddhist norms. This type of composition has no much leaning on the abstruse Buddhist philosophy. The chief aim of this type is to present Buddhist religion and ethics in a simple way. Unfortunately of such huge literature only a portion has come to lime-light, and others are preserved in Mss. in different libraries and personal occupations.

The scholars connected with the Sanskrit studies during the second-half of this century are making significant contribution to the research of these lost and unpublished Mss. Their endeavour has produced the New Catalogus Catalogorum (ed. by Dr. V. Raghavan & D. Kunjunni Raja) which is a replacement of the older Catalogus Catalogorum by Aufrecht. In the Federal Republic of Germany the cataloguing of the Oriental Manuscripts has produced forty volumes.

In these volumes we have detailed descriptions of manuscripts of the countries like India, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Central Asia. Besides cataloguing, the institutes are making available, with their limitations, numerous Mss. belonging to the different branches of Sanskrit learnings. Mention may be made of the 'Institute for Advanced Studies of World Religions', University of New York, Stony Brook. This institution, through microfilming manuscripts, is lucky to have 494 Buddhist Mss. This is known from the notification of the Institute, made in 1975. A great project has been started by the German Oriental Society in 1970 under Dr. W. Voigt. This project known as Nepal German Manuscript Preservation Project has been able to procure manuscripts numbering about 40,000 from the Nepal Archives and private collections. Fortunately Dr. Michael Hahn¹ has been able to find out 3,000 Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in such big collection. He has devoted himself to this research and is assisted by a band of his pupils. This has resulted some useful publications of the Buddhist Narrative literature² hitherto undiscovered. Some researches are also being carried on at Hamburg University.³ India is also credited with publishing recently a reprint through K. P. Jayswal Commemoration Volume, in 1981, the *Ajātaśatrvavadāna*.⁴

India further has in her credit to publish a synopsis of the *Avadānasārasamuccaya*⁵ in the Commemoration Volume on the 69th Birth of Ācārya Raghuvīra. Some of the legends of the book have been

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1. *Studia Philologica Buddhica*, Occasional Paper Series, Tokyo, 1977.
 2. *Das Maitrakanyakāvadāna*, Konrad Klaus, *Indica et Tibetica*, Bonn 1983 ; *Das Mṛgajāta*, Dr. M. Hahn & K. Klaus, *Indica et Tibetica*, Bonn, 1983 ; Other critical articles published on this subject : *Die Haribhaṭṭajātakamālā* (III). *Das Dardara-Jātaka*, *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens*, Band XXII (1979), S. 67-86 ; *Das Udayajāta*, W. Z. K. S., Band XXIV (1980), *Gopadatta's Kapiśvarajāta*, *Journal of the Nepal Research Centre*, vol. 4 (Humanities) 1980, S. 133-159; *Ajātaśatrvavadāna*, K. P. Jayswal Commemoration Volume, Patna, 1981.
 3. *Studien Zum Jainismus und Buddhismus*, Klaus Bruhn and Albrecht Wezler.
 4. *A Gopadatta Story from Tibet*, Dr. M. Hahn.
 5. *Studies in Indo-Asian Art and Culture*, Vol, I, Delhi, 1972 ed. Perala Ratnam.

identified by Ratna Handurukande from the catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts of the Cambridge University Library, (ed. by Bendall, 1983).

It is unfortunate for us that most of the original manuscripts in Sanskrit are lost and the contents of these are either known from their references in other texts or from translations (Tibetan, Chinese, and Japanese) of the texts. The fascinating Buddhist themes of the poet: Āryaśūra inspired the poets of the later period to compose similar moral-evaluating tales in their own style and form. As a result we notice a good number of such narrative literature enriched with fine ślokas. At least two of this class of writers who succeeded Āryaśūra deserve mention. First one is Haribhaṭṭa and the other is Gopadatta.

At a more late period we notice the Bodhisattvāvadānamālā, an excellent versical composition, by Kashmirian poet Kṣemendra (12th century A. D.). In between Āryaśūra and Kṣemendra there might have originated many writers who did devote themselves to compose aforesaid narrative literature. But for want of original manuscripts and colophon as well, the authorship of these works is yet subjects of research. Concerted attempts are being made in different research units of the countries like West Germany, U. S. A., Nepal, India, Japan and Ceylon (Sri Lanka). Dr. Michael Hahn has been highly successful to locate and identify a few of these manuscripts and edited some of them.¹

From the beginning of the Christian era many Buddhist writers fancied to compose on Buddhist themes various kāvyas in a mixed style of prose and verse. Prof. Hahn has rightly called this Campū-literature for being written in prose and verse. Of these Āryaśūra's Jātakamālā and Maitrakanyakāvadāna are found in their complete form in Sanskrit. The others are preserved in different languages like Chinese, Tibetan and Japanese. A few of which discovered in original Sanskrit bear the clear stamp of Buddhist Avadāna literature extolling the efficacy of Karma. Certainly these compositions along

1. Haribhaṭṭa and Gopadatta : Two authors in succession of Āryaśūra on the Rediscovery of parts of their Jātakamālā. Tokyo, Reiyukai Library, 1977.

with the earlier works like the Divyāvadāna, Avadānsataka and Jātakamālā borrowed their theme from the Pāli Jātakas.

Haribhaṭṭa and his Jātakamālā

Modern research on Buddhist Narrative literature has discovered some original Sanskrit Mss of the works by Haribhaṭṭa and Gopadatta whose original works in Sanskrit were supposed to be lost. The earliest reference of the poet Haribhaṭṭa as the author of the Jātakamālā has been made by F. W. Thomas¹ in 1904. He found in Tanjur (mdo xcii, foll. 1-229) consisting of thirtyfive stories divided in three decades plus five. About the personal history of Haribhaṭṭa nothing significant is known from other sources. In spite of inclusion of his name in the Subhāṣitāvali nowhere was found his verse-works. Only the colophon states that he was an Ācārya and a prince well-versed in grammar and words of the Buddha. He was also described there as the moon of the poets of later age. It was also mentioned in the colophon that Haribhaṭṭa wrote this story with an intense desire of earning merit and also for the love of Sugata. It is also known that he left his kingdom and retired to the Himālayas for some unknown troubles. In a tone of modesty he expressed his gratitude to poet Āryaśūra and acknowledged his indebtedness in respect of the plan of the work. It is worthy to mention here that his work consisted of thirtyfive legends as against thirtyfour of Āryaśūra. But unfortunately only thirteen of these stories in original Sanskrit are located in different manuscripts.* These thirteen stories are as follows :

1. Badaradvīpa, 2. Śaśajātaka, 3. Candraprabha, 4. Rūpyāvati,
5. Mṛga, 6. Hastin, 7. Candra, 8. Hariṇamṛga, 9. Mayūra,
10. Siṃha, 11. Maitrakanyaka, 12. Śākyasiṃha, 13. Karmaṇī-
- kāśūtra. Of these only eleven legends are available from Kathmandu

1. Haribhaṭṭanāmajātakamālā. Tib : Sen-ge-zabs-hbriñ. pahi-Skeys. rabs. kyi Phreñ-ba : Notes from the Tanjur, J. R. A. S., 1904, pp 733-43.

2. Avadānasārāsamuccaya (unpublished); Bodhisattvajātakāvadānamālā (unpublished) Haribhaṭṭajātakamālā (unpublished) Jātakamālāvadānasūtra (unpublished).

National Archives. A few of the Haribhaṭṭajātakamālā have been published¹ recently.

Before the discovery of the Sanskrit Mss. of Haribhaṭṭa it was believed by Hahn that the Skt. original was lost and hence he rendered earlier into German from their Tibetan translation preserved in Tanjur. But with recent accession of the Sanskrit manuscript of Avadāna-sāra-samuccaya and Jātakamālāvadānasūtra, it has been possible to locate the Skt. originals of the Haribhaṭṭajātakamālā also. The two published and edited texts of these are the Mṛgajātaka and Śaśajātaka which are mentioned earlier. Both the stories were very popular and were incorporated in the body of the Pāli Jātakatṭhakathā. The Mṛga and Śaśa-jātaka are respectively the Pāli Nigrodhamṛgajātaka (Jataka No. 12) and Sasa-jātaka (No. 316).

Style of Haribhaṭṭa :

It has been stated earlier that Haribhaṭṭa himself expressed in the colophon his indebtedness to poet Āryaśūra, author of the Jātakamālā. In spite of that Haribhaṭṭa had some imaginations of his own device which are distinctively noticed in the common legends of both the poets. Very recently discovered Sanskrit Mss have made us possible to make a comparative study of the style of these two great poets. We, therefore, add here Prof. Hahn's valuable comments : As regards his literary technique, Haribhaṭṭa predominantly follows the style of Āryaśūra. Like his predecessor he endeavours at a balanced proportion of prose and verse and a meaningful division of the functions of *gadya* and *padya*. As a rule, prose is used mainly for detailed descriptions of persons and circumstances. The compounds of different lengths, the appropriate use of chains of long and short syllables, the use of rough and smooth consonant-clusters combined to yield

1. (a) Die Haribhaṭṭa jātakamālā (I) Das Ādarśamukha-jātaka, W. Z. K. S., XVII (1973), pp-49-88 ; (b) Haribhaṭṭajātakamālā (II), Das Śyāmajātaka W. Z. K. S. XX, 1976, pp. 37-74 ; (c) Haribhaṭṭajātakamālā (III) Das Dardarajātaka, W. Z. K. S. XXIII, 1979, pp 75-108 ; (d) Das Udaya-jātaka, W. Z. K. S., XXIV, 1980, pp. 99-128 ; (e) Śaśa-jātaka, Studia Philologica Buddhica, Occasional paper, Series I, M. Hahn, Tokyo, 1977 ; (f) Das Mṛgajātaka (Haribhaṭṭa-Jātakamālā, XI, Indica et Tibetica, Bonn, 1983 ; Das Maitrakanyakāvadāna, Indica et Tibetica, 2. Bonn, 1983.

a picture whose characteristic vividness is brought out more effectively than in verse. The type of prose tends to have a static and retarding character with regard to advancing the story line. There is a manifest tendency with Haribhaṭṭa to reduce the prose towards the end of narration more and more. The same may be observed with Āryaśūra, though to a much lesser extent. Verses are used by Haribhaṭṭa mainly for statements of a more general nature, or forms similar to Subhāṣitas, for descriptions whose vividness is enhanced by the accompaniment of a certain rhythm, and for parts which advanced the plot. The verses therefore have a more dynamic and accelerating character.¹ In the use of meters, as evinced from the Skt. manuscripts, Haribhaṭṭa excelled Āryaśūra, by using twentyfive meters as against five of Āryaśūra. Of other differences in style of composition we may mention the following : In Āryaśūra's Jātakamālā the tales start with a moral^a which is explained and illustrated in the following episode with the stereotyped formula *tad yathā anuśrūyate*. The story is narrated in prose, interspersed with verses, sometimes repeating the same tale, sometimes expressing some other qualities of the Bodhisattva concerned, and sometimes depicting the beauty of nature. The story is concluded with repetition of moral in prose along with the formal *tadevaṃ*. Haribhaṭṭa, however, gives the motto in Āryā stanza^a at the very beginning. There after follows the stereotyped formula—*tadyathānuśrūyate*. The prose portion coming after is also different from that of Āryaśūra. The sentences are longer and enriched with flowery attributes and compounded words reminding us of Bāṇa's prose-style. Āryaśūra's compositions were mostly based on the events and characters of the original pāli stories viz. Jātakas. Prof. Kern has furnished a table of identification in his introduction to the Jātakamālā. This shows that all the episodes are borrowed from the original pāli Jātakas. Therefore deviations from the original in respect of the subject-

1. Haribhaṭṭa and Gopadatta : Two Authors in the Succession of Āryaśūra on The Rediscovery of Parts of Their Jātakamālā. pp. 7-8.
2. Tiryag gatānāṃ api śatām mahātmanām Śaktyanurūpā dānapravṛttidṛṣṭā. Kena nāma manuṣyabhūtena na dātavyaṃ syāt ? Tad yathā anuśrūyate. Śāśa-jatakam, Jātakamālā, No. 6.
3. Tiryagyonigatair api, sadbhiḥ prāṇaḥparārtham utsṛṣṭaḥ /
Ko nāma puruṣārthabhūtaḥ, saktiṃ dhānamātrake (na) kuryāt //

matter were insignificant. In short his work was an artistic sanskrit rendering of the Pāli legends. He used these stories to illustrate moral virtues resulted through Pāramitās. On the other hand Haribhaṭṭa employed the old tales to glorify the main characters of the legends. Therefore he unhesitatingly rejected other sub-characters of the original as these were thought unuseful for the delineation of the chief hero of the story and consequently in Haribhaṭṭa's Śaśajātaka the other characters like Udra (otter), Śṛgāla (jackal), Vānara (monkey) are absent. It is again interesting enough to note here that these characters are not portrayed also in the Avadāna-śataka. This leads to a probable conclusion that Haribhaṭṭa had as its source the Sanskrit Avadāna-legend and not the Pāli Jātaka.

Probable date of Haribhaṭṭa :

The date of the composition of Haribhaṭṭa's Jātakamālā is more or less a debatable point. Āryaśūra's Jātakamālā was the basis of his own Jātakamālā is beyond question as it has been already mentioned in the colophon. Dr. Michael Hahn also could not furnish us a specific date of the composition for its varied style, very recently a critical study on the date of composition of Haribhaṭṭa's Jātakamālā is jointly made by two German scholars named Klaus Bruhn and Albrecht Wezler.

They have restricted the date of Haribhaṭṭa to the upper limit of 12th century A. D. as it was rendered into Tibetan language at that time. In determining this upper limit they have also taken account of the Chinese story of the Sūtra named, 'The wise Man and the Fool' (vide, Chinese collection, Hsien-yü-Ching) which has marked corroboration with that of Haribhaṭṭa-episode. From such corroboration Bruhn and Wezler have drawn the following assumptions—either, the two versions mutually depended on each other, or the compilers of the Hsien-Yü-Ching borrowed totally from Haribhaṭṭa who aimed to keep his originality in respect of his style only.¹

From the foregoing conclusion the upperlimit of Haribhaṭṭa's age be ascertained by the time of the compilation of Hsien-Yü-Ching

1. Das Datum Das Haribhaṭṭa, Studien Zum Jainismus Und Buddhismus 23, p. 120.

only. According to the oldest catalogue of the Chinese Tripiṭaka this took place in the year 455 A. D. It was therefore, easy to surmise for them that Haribhaṭṭa's Jātakamālā could not be composed 'later than the first decades of the 5th century A. D.', for the dissemination of the work this was possibly the shortest time required.

Again in the Jātaka-section of the Tibetan Tanjur, supposed to be done chronologically, Haribhaṭṭa is placed after Āryaśūra. It is equally, attested by Haribhaṭṭa who refers to Āryaśūra as his predecessor in such poetic composition.

On the date of Haribhaṭṭa an humble point be added here as the scholars on the subject might have ignored out of inadvertence. In the introductory verses¹ of Harṣacarita of Bāṇabhaṭṭa references to a number of poets and writers have been made as his predecessors. Here our humble suggestion is that Bhaṭṭāra which is an equivalent with Bhaṭṭāraka, used in the sense of 'King', i.e., the best, is the second title of Haribhaṭṭa; Haricandra of Harṣacarita may be taken to be the same personality as Hari or Haribhaṭṭa of the Jātakamālā, as in the colophon 'candra' of the compounded word Haricandra seems to be used as an epithet for his elegant and sweet writings. Haribhaṭṭa has been described as the Moon of later poets. It is, therefore, better to suggest that the chief name of the poet was Hari and other two words viz., 'Candra' and 'Bhaṭṭa' (Bhaṭṭāra) are the component members of the compound. Bhaṭṭāra of Harṣacarita has been prefixed as the first member of the compound. In the colophon of the Jātakamālā Haribhaṭṭa has been narrated as a scholar of Vyākaraṇa and fantastically enough his work, specially prose-composition, bespeaks of his great mastery and skill in grammar. The style of prose-writing is unique and full of rehtoric virtues, long compounded words, selections of imageries etc. An extract from his composition is given here as an illustration. Stimita-nilina-śuka-saṅghāta-harita-śādvālo-pagūḍha-bhūbhāge vividhagśikhara-tarucchāyopaviṣṭaromanthāya

1. Padabandhojjvalo hārī kṛtavarṇa-karmasthith/Bhaṭṭāra-haricandrasya gadya-bandho nṛpāyate/Harṣacarita, Ucchvāsa, I, verse No. 12, ed. P. V. Kane, 1965, Delhi.

mānā - hariṇagaṇe bhramadalikulopa giyamānā-kusumitalatā-saṃ-
parka-surabhi-pavanākampyamānā-nirjhara-vāridhautaśilātale.....
kvaśid acalavanāntare Bodhisattvaḥ śaśo bhavati sma. (Śaśa-jātaka,
Haribhaṭṭa-jātakamālā, ed. by Hahn, 1977).

The date of Bāṇa, the court poet of Harṣa, is known to us. Haribhaṭṭa who has himself expressed indebtedness to Āryaśūra (4th Cent. A. D.) is certainly later than a century as it was the reasonable time for dissemination. Bāṇa, therefore, in the 7th century A. D. could know also the nature of Haribhaṭṭa's composition, though he did not specifically write and illustrate anywhere about him. This phenomenon leads us to a hypothetical assumption that the work even being known to Harṣa's time was possibly lost in later period. Thus the mention of Haribhaṭṭa as Bhaṭṭāra Haricandra helps us to draw the probable conclusion that Haribhaṭṭa did appear in the second decade of the 5th Century A.D.

[Read at the seminar on 'Bodhisattva Ideals Through Ages' of the University of Delhi, 1984.]

THE ALTRUISTIC CONCEPT OF MAHĀYĀNISM AS
REFLECTED IN THE DOCTRINE OF *BODHISATTVA*

—Dr. Heramba Chatterjee Śāstrī

In the Brāhmaṇical concept of life and living the ancient legislators of India insisted on thinking in terms of doing good to others. A life led for one's own self was always deemed as non-righteous and even sinful :

Aghaṃ saḥ kevalaṃ bhuṅkte yaḥ pacaty ātmakāraṇāt.

By taking up the example of a pregnant woman who always thinks in terms of the child in the womb, the king has been instructed in the *Sāntiparva* of the *Mahābhārata* to work for the welfare of the subjects :

Yathā hi garbhiṇī hitvā svaṃ priyaṃ manaso'nugam /
Garbhasya hitam ādatte tathā rājñāpy asaṃśayam //
Vartitavyaṃ kuruśreṣṭha sadā dharmānuvartinā /
Svaṃ priyaṃ tu parityajya yad yat lokahitaṃ bhavet//56.45-46.

Even the *Mahābhārata* insists on the endeavour of the king to help the citizens and the subjects to lead a life of *Dharma* :

Dharmāya rājā bhavati na kāmakaraṇāya tu /

* * *

Dharme tiṣṭhanti bhūtāni dharmo rājani tiṣṭhati //

Sānti, 90. 1 and 5.

The great compassionate Being as Lord Buddha was, He had the same realisation with respect to the ideal attitude of the monks when it has been directed :

Caratha bhikkhave cārikaṃ bahujaṇahitāya bahujaṇa-sukhāya
lokāmukampāya atthāya hitāya sukhāya deva-manussānaṃ.

Vinaya 1. 21.

But the trend of events testifies to the fact that the monastic ideal was to lead a life of solitude, segregated from the common life of men, as we gather from the *Khaggavisāṇa-Sutta* :

...eko care khaggavisāṇakappo.

In practical field such saintly, serene, rather inactive and indolent monastic life has been described to be likened to what has been stated by Ibsen :

‘There are actually moments when the whole history of the world appears to me like one great shipwreck, and the only important thing seems to be to save oneself.’

The concept of *Pratyeka-buddha* (Pali-*paccekabuddha*) of one ‘enlightened by himself’ was also bereft of altruistic activity befitting the original ideal of the Master of working for the welfare of the distressed humanity.

Circumstances inevitably paved the way for Buddhism taking a turn towards *Mahāyānism* where stress is laid on the salvation of every sentient being. The Bodhisattva doctrine which was not unknown to the *Theravāda* Buddhism assumed the developed form after a very long time. We thus notice in the *Majjhima Nikāya* (1. 17. 6 ff) statements like : ‘During the days before my Enlightenment when I was only a *Bodhisatta*...

‘mayham -pi kho brāhmaṇa pubbe va sambodhā anabhisambuddhassa bodhisattass’ eva sato etad ahoṣi...

Almost identical passages occur in the same text : M. 1. 163. 10 ; 1. 240. 19 ; S. II. 5, 10ff ; III. 27, 30 ; IV. 233, 14 ff.

The *Kathāvatthu*, XXIII, 3, p. 623 ; IV. 7, 8, pp. 283-90 has in it discussions relating to the actions of Bodhisattva, his views, asceticisms and the like. In general it may be stated that the later

The *Puggalapaññatti* describes a *Pratyekabuddha* thus : Idh’ ekacco puggalo pubbe ananussutesu dhammesu sāmāṃ saccāni abhisambujjhati tattha ca sabbññutaṃ pāpuṇāti na ca phalesu vasībhāvaṃ : ayaṃ vuccati puggalo paccekasambuddho. P. 73. (Edited by Richard Morris, London, 1972.)

Mahāyānic concept of Bodhisattva cannot be exactly traced therein. Even in the Mahāyānic texts interestingly in the earlier stages the Bodhisattvas were regarded as beings inferior or subordinate to Buddhas, and in course of time more and more qualities and qualifications were imposed on the Bodhisattvas and about Avalokiteśvara, a Bodhisattva, it has eulogistically been stated that he is 'a Buddha-maker'. In the *Bodhisattva-bhūmi* the Bodhisattvas are expected to be possessed of both knowledge (*jñānasambhāra*) and religious merit (*puṇyasambhāra*). Of other qualities *prajñā* comes to the forefront at the hands of the *Mādhyamikas* and later on *Karuṇā* (compassion) gains ground. At the hands of the *Jogācāra* school of thought *yoga* becomes an essential feature of a Bodhisattva who is described as a *Yogin* par excellence. Ultimately, however, the two, namely, culture of the thought of *Bodhi* (*bodhicittotpāda*) and compassion for the suffering humanity and endeavour to raise them out of the mire of attachment, emerge.

These points will be pursued in our discussion by concentrating mainly on the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* of Śāntideva.

Prajñākaramati in his *Pañjikā* commentary on the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* verse one :

Sugatān sasutān sadharmakāyān praṇipatyādarato 'khilāṇs ca vandyān / *Sugatātmajasamvaravatārāṃ*.....

speaks of the fact that the Bodhisattvas also by virtue of the inculcation of Dharmas may be stated to possess *Dharmakāya* and consequently they are to be regarded as almost equivalent and equal to Sugata :

Bodhisattvānām api adhigatadharmatvād ānurūpyeṇa dharmakāyo vidyata eva ...Te'pi hi samadhigatadharmatayā sugatavānīyātāḥ sugataprayāh.

The expression *sugatāmaja* has been explained thus :

Sugatātmajāḥ jinaputrāḥ, bodhisattvā ity arthaḥ.

In this context for proper comprehension of the concept of *Bodhi* in the Bodhisattva doctrine it is desirable to have a correct under-

standing of *prajñā* and the statement of Śāntideva and the exposition thereon are both relevant here. In the very first verse of the ninth chapter of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* entitled *Prajñāpāramitā* it has been held that whatever has been delineated by the Lord is intended for the origination of *prajñā* :

Imaṃ parikaraṃ sarvaṃ *prajñārthaṃ* hi munir jagau /
Tasmād utpādayet *prajñāṃ* duḥkhanivṛttikāṅkṣayā // IX. 1.

Prajñākaramati in his exposition speaks of *prajñā* as of the nature of proper comprehension of the objects of the world as governed strictly by the law of causation :

Prajñā yathāvasthitapratītyasamutpanna-vastutattva-pravicaya-lakṣaṇā.

The commentator further states that other *pāramitās* do not possess the potentiality of being considered as contributing to the state of Sugata unless they are supplemented by *prajñā* :

Evam ete dānādayaḥ satkṛtya sambhṛtā api *prajñāṃ* antareṇa saugatapadādhigamaheṭavo na bhavanti nāpi *pāramitāvya-padeśaṃ* labhante. *Prajñākṛta-pariśuddhibhājaḥ* punaḥ avyāha-todārapravṛttitayā tadanukūlam anuvartamānāḥ taddhetu-bhāvaṃ adhigacchanti, *pāramitānām* adheyam ca labhante. Tathā dātr-deya-pratigrāhakādi-tritayānupalambhayogena *prajñāpariśodhitāḥ* sādara-nirantra-dīrghakālam abhyasamānāḥ prakarṣaparyantam upagacchantāḥ avidyā-pravartita-sakala-vikalpajālamalarahitam kleśa-jñeyā-varaṇa-vinirmuktaṃ ubhay-anairātmyādhigamasvabhāvaṃ sarvasvaparahitasampadādhā-rabhūtaṃ paramārthatattvātmakaṃ tathāgata-dharmakāyaṃ abhinivartayanti *prajñāpradhānā* dānādayo guṇā ucyante.

Finally it has been held that through *prajñā* it is possible for a being to have full realisation of the final end of life :

Tad evaṃ *prajñāyā* svapna-māyādi-svabhāvaṃ saṃskṛtaṃ pratyavekṣamāṇasya sarvadharmāṇāṃ niḥsvabhāvatayā prati-patteḥ paramārthādhigamāt savāsananiḥśeṣadoṣarāśi-vinivṛttir bhavati *sarvaduḥkhopaśanahetuḥ* *prajñā* upapadyate.

For further analytical classification of *prajñā* note here the statements of Prajñākaramati in his commentary on the same verse:

While speaking about the activities of a Bodhisattva in its ideal form it has been stated in the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* that people of this world are normally engrossed in miserable plight, wherein from one misery they rise up only to be plunged into another. It is the bounded self-imposed obligation of the Bodhisattva to extend helping hand to the distressed humanity :

Duḥkham evābhīdhāvanti duḥkhaniḥsaraṇāśayā /
 Sukheccayaiva saṃmohāt svasukhaṃ ghnanti śatruvat // 1. 28.
 Yas teṣāṃ sukharaṇkāṇāṃ pīḍitānāṃ anekaśaḥ /
 Tṛptiṃ sarvasukhaiḥ kuryāt sarvāḥ pīḍāś chinatti ca // 1. 29.
 Nāśayaty api samohaṃ sādhus tena samaḥ kutaḥ /
 Kuto vā tādrśaṃ mitraṃ puṇyaṃ vā tādrśaṃ kutaḥ // 1. 30.

The altruistic aspect of the ideal of a Bodhisattva has further been elaborated in the third chapter of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* entitled *Bodhicittaparigraha*. Here there is even request to the perfectly enlightened one (sambuddha) so that he may enkindle the lamp unto those who are still under the spell of illusion :

Sarvāsu dikṣu sambuddhān prārthayāmi kṛtāñjaliḥ /
 Dharmapradīpaṃ kurvantu mohād duḥkhaprapātīnāṃ // III. 4.

His desire is to get the world relieved of the ignorance of all the types :

Mā bhūd andham idaṃ jagat. Ibid. III. 5

What is more, the Bodhisattva takes upon himself the self-imposed obligation of ameliorating the distress of the worldly beings ; even by exchange of the religious merits accrued through good acts :

Evam sarvaṃ idaṃ kṛtvā yan mayāsāditam śubham /
 Tena syāṃ sarvasattvānāṃ sarvaduḥkhapraśāntikṛt // III. 6

Nothing can be more fine than what has been declared as the ideal for a Bodhisattva in this text to the effect that his role in respect of an ailing person should be like one of medicine, the physician as also of his nurse or attendant till he is cured of the disease :

Glānānāṃ asmi bhaiṣajyaṃ bhavyaṃ vaidya eva ca /
 Tadupasthāpakaś caiva yāvad rogāpunarbhavaḥ // III. 7

For those who are in need of food and drink seriously should be offered remedy immediately so that the distressed humanity is not to face death and dissolution for want of those essentials. The Bodhisattva declares accordingly :

Kṣutpipāsāvyathāṃ hanyāṃ annapānapravarṣaṇaiḥ /
Durbhikṣāntarakalpeṣu bhaveyaṃ pānabhojanam // III. 8.

For rendering all possible assistance to the needy the Bodhisattva may shoulder the voluntary responsibility of offering riches that they may be in need of :

Daridrāṇāṃ ca sattvānāṃ nidhiḥ syāṃ ahaṃ akṣayaḥ /
Nānopakaraṇākārair upatiṣṭheyaṃ agrataḥ // III. 9

Such a Bodhisattva is to forsake all the worldly pleasures and enjoyments in the interest of the beings of the world :

Ātmabhāvāṃs tathā bhogān sartryadhvagataṃ śubham /
Nirapekṣas tyajāmy aṣa sarvasattvārthasiddhaye // III. 10

What is more, even the Bodhisattva may give up the idea of self-liberation if that in any way contributes to the welfare of the human beings :

Sarvatyāgaś ca nirvāṇaṃ nirvāṇārthi ca me manaḥ /
Tyaktavyaṃ cen mayā sarvaṃ varaṃ sattveṣu dīyatām // III. 11.

He is ready to surrender his own physical form (*kāya*) if it serves in any way the interest of others. The well-known episode of Śīvi as we get in the *Mahābhārata* as also in the *Avadānas* may offer an example of the same. The idea is that even the offer of one's own body which is so dear to one is not to be regarded as so much precious if that is in any way used in the interest of others : He thus is expected to think in the following terms :

Kriḍantu mama kāyena hasantu vilasantu ca /
Dattas tebh्यe mayā kāyas cintaya kiṃ mamānayā // III. 13
Kārayantu ca karmāṇi yāni teṣāṃ sukhāvaḥam /
Anarthaḥ kasyacin mā bhūn māṃ ālambya kadācana // III. 14.

Even the persons who do not have sweet relationship with such Bodhisattvas are not left unheeded. The Bodhisattvas are to see

that persons, friend or foe should be made or persuaded to be *Bodhi-minded* :

Abhyākhyāsyanti mām ye ca ye cānye 'py apakāriṇaḥ /
Utprāsaktas tathānye'pi sarve syur *bodhibhāgiṇaḥ* // III. 16

This concept of behaving equally to friend and foe (samaḥ śatrau ca mitre ca) and thinking in terms of their total welfare is unique in nature and are to be reckoned as new features not to be traced in earlier texts in this form.

He is to play the role of a lord unto those who are without any protection and patronage, of a boat for those who are intending to cross the ocean of the world and of a bride in terms of those crossing a canal :

Anāthānām ahaṃ nāthaḥ sārthavāhaś ca yāyinām /
Pāreṣūnām ca naubhūtaḥ setuḥ saṃkrama eva ca // III. 17

He is to be a lamp for those who are in need of the same in times of darkness, bed for those who need it most, a servant for those who desire to have the service of a husband :

Dīparthinām ahaṃ dīpaḥ śayyā śayyārthinām ahaṃ /
Dāsārthinām ahaṃ dāso bhaveyaṃ sarvadehinām // III. 18

The Bodhisattva ideal thus turns out to be one of service and dedication for the purpose of rendering service to the suffering humanity. In other words, his role will be like that of a wish-yielding tree (kalpavṛkṣa) for rendering service and for endeavouring to give to the human beings whatever they are in need of :

Cintāmaṇiḥ bhadraghaṭa siddhavidyā mahauṣadhiḥ /
Bhaveyaṃ kalpavṛkṣaś ca kāmadhenuś ca dehinām // 19

This they are to perform endlessly leaving aside all other considerations so long as the distress of all the suffering humanity is not removed :

Prthivyādīni bhūtāni niḥśeṣākāśavāsinām /
Sattvānām aprameyāṇām yathābhogāny anekadhā //
Evam ākāśaniṣṭhasya sattvadhātor anekadhā /
Bhaveyam upajīvyo'haṃ yāvat sarve na nirvṛtāḥ // III. 21.

In the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* of Śāntideva (pp. 14-15) the nice expression used in respect of a Bodhisattva is that he must have a determined and strong mind dedicated to the task of doing good and service unto others (*Chittaśura*) and be ready to forsake everything for others :

Tathā cittaśūrāḥ punaḥ khalu Sariputra, bodhisattvā bhavanti,
yāvat svahastaparityāgi bhavati, pādaparityāgi, nāsāparityāgi, śirṣa-
parityāgi, angapratyangaparityāgi yāvat sarvasvaparityāgi.

Compassion (karuṇāyamānaḥ), indifference to self-pleasure (svasukhanirapekṣaḥ), always thought for others by way of expression of sympathy for their sorrows (paraduḥkhaḍuḥkhi) and the like are the basic qualities to be inculcated by a Bodhisattva and Śāntideva in his *Śikṣāsamuccaya* rightly points out :

Yadātmanaḥ pareṣāṃ ca bhyaṃ duḥkhaṃ ca na priyam /
Tadātmanaḥ ko viśeṣo yat tvaṃ rakṣāmi netaram //

Therefore the ideal should be :

Duḥkhāntaṃ kartukāmena sukhāntaṃ kartum icchatā /
Śraddhāmūlaṃ drḍhikṛtya bodhau kāryā matir drḍhā / 3

In this very short paper an attempt has been made to enlighten on one of the basic points relating to Bodhisattva in the light of the treatment of the subject in the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, which has not sufficiently been dealt with by Har Dayal in the highly informative contribution entitled :

The Bodhisattva doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit literature,
(London, 1932, Reprint, Delhi, 1970).

A RECENT TRANSLATION OF
VIJÑĀPTIMĀTRATĀSIDDHI

Prabal Kumar Sen

I

Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi (VMS) of Vasubandhu is considered to be a basic text of Yogācāra Buddhism. It comprises two sets of *Kārikā*-s. The first one, entitled *Viṃśatika-Kārikā* (VK), contains twenty-two verses, while the second one, entitled *Triṃśika-Kārikā* (TK), contains thirty verses. Several commentaries were written on these cryptic verses, of which only two (viz. Vasubandhu's *Vṛtti* on VK and Sthiramati's *Bhāṣya* on TK) have survived in the original. The importance attached to VMS can be easily guessed from the fact that VK was translated into Chinese by four different scholars, Guṇaratna, Prabhākara, Hsüan Chuang and I-Tsing. Hsüan Chuang also translated TK into Chinese, and utilised ten commentaries then available on it for writing a new commentary. The two works together are known as *Chéng wei shih lün* (CWSL). Tibetan translations of VMS are also available. Scholars have worked on the Chinese and Tibetan versions, and prepared translations of them into various modern languages ; but till recently, no English translation of the entire VMS in the original along with its extant commentaries was available. Dr. K. N. Chatterjee's edition of these texts along with an Introduction, English translation and notes has been published from Varanasi in 1980, and it is aimed at filling up this gap.¹ In this paper, we propose to examine how far the new edition and translation fulfil our expectations.

We gather from the Preface that Dr. Chatterjee was initiated into the study of Buddhism by an eminent scholar like Dr. P. C. Bagchi, and that he studied the Chinese language and the text of CWSL under the guidance of Prof. Wang-Shen-T'ien. This naturally leads

us to expect that Dr. Chatterjee will execute his job with professional competence, and such expectations are heightened when we read the following lines in the Foreword by Prof. Siddheswar Bhattacharya :

“Dr K. N. Chatterjee has carefully edited the Kārikā-s, the Vṛtti and Ṭikā of Sthiramati. To introduce it to the English-knowing scholars, he has translated all the three in English which is as lucid as faithful (sic) to the original. The work is balanced by a historical Introduction at the beginning and critical notes at the end. The Introduction presents a total perspective of Buddhism while the notes unravel the intricacies of Buddhist concepts. *The work is a glowing tribute to his two great teachers in this field—one Indian, and the other, Chinese, to whom it is dedicated* (emphasis added)”.

We wish we could share the opinion of Prof. Bhattacharya. Unfortunately, it appears that Dr. Chatterjee has not made proper use of his scholarship, and that he has not been careful enough in editing and translating this important text.

II

The Introduction (pp. v-xlii) attempts at delineating the history of Buddhism from the beginning to the first phase of Yogācāra Buddhism represented by Asaṅga and Vasubandhu. During this period of about one thousand years, the Buddhist Sangha was split up into a number of sects, and there was a good deal of internecine wrangling. Finally, these sects were classified under two broad groups—Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna. After the demise of Buddha, the first schism in the Sangha was due to disputes regarding the interpretation of the *Vinaya* rules (traditionally known as *daśavatthuni*), but subsequently, the disputes centred on problems pertaining to metaphysics and eschatology. A thoroughgoing account of these developments should be chronological as well as critical, i.e., it should show how the views of each sect were being formulated with increasing clarity, and how they were sought to be defended by scriptural authority and independent reasoning. It is not possible to give such an exhaustive history of Buddhism within the short span of thirtyeight pages. These days, when authors are constrained to keep the length of their writings within specified limits, the Introduction should discuss only

a few important problems that have some direct bearing on the purpose at hand. From this point of view Dr. Chatterjee is perfectly justified in discussing the fundamental tenets of Mahāyāna Buddhism (pp. viii-xii, xvi-xxii, xxi-xiii), and the same may be said about his comparison of the fundamental tenets of different Hinayāna and Mahāyāna schools. But we fail to understand what purpose (if any) can be served by a few perfunctory remarks about the origin of Buddhism (pp v-viii) or, for that matter, by an elaborate discussion of *daśavatthuni* (pp. xii-xv), the facts being well-known to any serious student of Buddhism, and there being no direct link between these disputes and the problems discussed in the VMS.

On the other hand, some features traditionally expected of introductions in scholarly editions are missing here. The textual problems of VMS or its commentaries have not been discussed (we will return to this point at a later part of this paper); total silence is observed about the critical apparatus, the earlier editions of VMS and their relative merits and demerits; earlier translations of VMS (and its commentaries) by some Indian scholars have not been noted; the contents of VMS have not been analysed properly; the relation between VK (which is primarily polemical) and TK (which is primarily constructive) has not been indicated; and no attempt at relating VMS to the Vijñānavāda literature preceding and succeeding it has been made. All these shortcomings could have been overlooked, had Dr. Chatterjee given us a comparative account of Sthiramati's *Bhāṣya* or TK and Hsüan Chuang's CWSL, because this would have been of immense help to readers who cannot consult the Chinese sources. But nothing to this effect is found in the Introduction, except for the remark that CWSL contains in a chronological order the opinions of the different teachers of Vijñānavāda. Even a brief account of such opinions would have been most welcome. It is rather surprising that Dr. Chatterjee has not used his expertise for enlightening us on such matters.

The Introduction also contains some questionable statements, and we propose to consider them serially :

- (i) "Jñānaprasthāna was composed by Kātyāyanīputra in about 2nd Cent. B.C. Vasubandhu wrote a

commentary on it in the 4th Cent.A.D. known as the *Abhidharmakośa*.” (p. xxii).

Even a cursory look at *Abhidharmakośa* reveals that it is an independent work, which, according to Yaśomitra, is based on Abhidharma works like *Jñānaprasthāna*³. This evidently shows that *Abhidharmakośa* is not a commentary on *Jñānaprasthāna*.

- (ii) “Kumāralāta (or Kumārarāta) and his disciple Harivarman were possibly the new founder of this school (i.e. Sautrāntika) ... Works of Kumāralāta are yet to be discovered, although the Chinese translation of *Satyasiddhiśāstra*, a treatise composed by Harivarmana has been known to exist.” (p. xxii).

Till date, we have come to know of two works by Kumāralāta—(i) *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā*, and (ii) *Duḥkhasantati*. Fragments of the first work were edited by Lüders³; and some beautiful verses quoted in *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* have been ascribed by Yaśomitra to the second work⁴. Scholars are of the opinion that *Divyāvadāna* also contains some material from *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā*.⁵ We may also mention here that N. Aiyaswamy Sastri has recently reconstructed *Satyasiddhiśāstra* from Chinese into Sanskrit.⁶

- (iii) “By *sāsrava* are meant those (entities) that are otherwise known as *saṃskṛta* ... *Saṃskṛta* dharmas or entities are the entities of conditional origination. Each and every such entity is born of the (sic) plurality of causes. On the contrary, whatever is not born of causes, i.e. whatever is of *unconditional origination* is called *anāsrava* or *asaṃskṛta* dharma or entity (emphasis added)” (pp xxiii-xxiv).

From this passage, it is clear that for Dr. Chatterjee, “*sāsrava*” is a synonym for “*saṃskṛta*”. But we gather from *Abhidharmakośa* I. 4-5 that *saṃskṛtā dharma*-s, with the exception of *mārgasatya* are *sāsrava* (*saṃskṛtā mārgavarjitā sāsravāḥ*), while three *asaṃskṛta* dharmas, together with *mārgasatya*, are *anāsrava* (*anāsravaṃ mārgasatyaṃ trividhaṃ cāpyasaṃskṛtam*). Thus, it is wrong to equate *sāsrava* with *saṃskṛta*, and *anāsrava* with *asaṃskṛta*. The expression “unconditional origination” is misleading on two counts, because

asaṃskṛta entities have no origination whatsoever, and for Buddhists, all originations are conditional.

- (iv) "The Sautrāntikas differed from the Vaibhāṣikas in one more fundamental point. They contended that an element gets destroyed the moment it has come to exist." (p. xxxi).

It is true that according to Sautrāntikas, all *dharma*-s are momentary. But to say that an entity is momentary is not to suggest that its origination, duration and destruction occur at the same time. The admission of such a doctrine would run counter to the Buddhist dictum that contradictory features cannot simultaneously characterize a single entity (*yo viruddhadharmādhyāsavān nāsāvekaḥ*)⁷. Incidentally, this dictum is presupposed in the proof for the momentariness of *dharma*-s.

- (v) "Vasubandhu has to his credit ... three treatises of Vijñānavāda metaphysics — the *Viṃśatikā*, the *Triṃśikā* and the *Madhyāntavibhāgaśāstra*. After Vasubandhu, to name other ācāryas of this school, one has to refer to Diñnāga, Sthiramati and Dharmapāla." (p. xxxvi).

It is indeed surprising that Dr. Chatterjee has ascribed *Madhyāntavibhāga* to Vasubandhu. Tradition ascribes to Vasubandhu the *Bhāṣya* on *Madhyāntavibhāga*. It is not also clear as to why Dr. Chatterjee is silent about works like *Pañcaskandhaprakaraṇa*, *Karmasiddhi* and *Trisvabhāvanirdeśa* that are supposed to be written by Vasubandhu. Moreover, naming Diñnāga, Sthiramati and Dharmapāla in the same breath may suggest that their attitudes are similar. This, however, is not the case. Diñnāga revived the Sautrāntika doctrine of *svalkaṣaṇa*, and his followers developed the "hybrid school of the Sautrāntika-Yogācāra"⁸. This was not the case with Sthiramati.

III

We now turn our attention to the edited texts. We will not mention the numerous misprints—a complete list would have made this paper long as well as tedious. Instead, we confine ourselves to some important textual problems.

(i) The fourth *pāda* of VK 1 in Dr. Chatterjee's edition reads as 'Keśauṇḍrādidarśanam'. This is not attested by any other edition (Dr. S. Bagchi and Dr. Chaudhuri, following Levi, read it as 'Keśacandrādidarśanam', while Dr. Tiwary accepts the reading 'Keśauṇḍrakādidarśanam')⁹. The form 'Keśauṇḍrādi' makes little sense—we suspect that this is a case of misprint. The suspicion is strengthened by the fact that Dr. Chatterjee translates it as "(persons having bad eyes) see non-real hair, texture and the like" (p. 1). It seems that the only reading that would agree with this translation is "Keśauṇḍrakādidarśanam", the meaning of "uṇḍuka" being net or texture.¹⁰

(ii) VK 2 also poses some textual problems. Following the first edition of Levi, Dr. Chatterjee reads it as follows :

Yadi vijñaptiranarthā niyamo deśakālayoḥ /
Santānasyāniyamaśca, yuktā kṛtyakriyā na ca //

In the second edition of Levi (reprinted from Sanghai), the first hemistich reads as :

Anartha yadi vijñaptir niyamo deśakālayoḥ /

In Dr. Tiwary's edition, however, there are some major changes, where the verse reads as :

Na deśakālaniyamo santānāniyamo na ca /
Na ca kṛtyakriyā yuktā vijñaptiryadi nārthataḥ // ¹¹

No significant change in meaning is indicated by these variants, but the readers should have the benefit of knowing that such variants exist.

(iii) The second half of TK 6 reads as follows :

Atmadṛstyātmapremamohātmanānātmasnehasaṁjñitaiḥ /

Following Levi, Dr. Chatterjee gives the following reading of Sthiramati's commentary on the word "ātmasneha" :

Ātmani sneha ātmapremetyarthaḥ .

Dr. Tiwary and Dr. Chaudhuri, following Ui, read this line as

Ātmani sneha ātmasneha ātmapremetyarthaḥ .¹²

This reading seems to be better, because it is highly unlikely that a commentator would give only the *vyāsavākya* of a compound word without reading the latter as a *pratīka*, and then add a synonym, which, in its turn, is itself a compound word. Dr. Chatterjee has not noted this important variant.

(iv) In Levi's first edition, we come across a curious line in Sthiramati's *Bhāṣya* on TK 19, which runs as follows :

*Grāhadvayavāsanāyāstu sarvakarmavāsanānām
yathāsvarṇaṁ ākṣiptātmabhāvotpādane pravṛttānām
sahakāritvaṁ pratipadyate.*

Here, the sixth case—ending in “grāhadvayavāsanāyāḥ” makes no sense whatsoever. Nevertheless, Dr. Chatterjee has retained this reading. Dr. Tiwary adopts the reading “grāhadvayavāsanā tu”, which is much better. In the same *Bhāṣya* passage, Dr. Chatterjee retains a reading adopted by Levi—“Katamadanyavijñānapratyayaṁ nāmarūpam ?” Here again, “Katamadanyad vijñānapratyayam” etc., as adopted by Dr. Tiwary and Dr. Chaudhuri, gives a better reading.¹³

(v) In Levi's edition, the fourth pada of TK 30 and the *pratīka* for it in Sthiramati's *Bhāṣya* are not in agreement. The *Kārikā* gives the reading “dharmākhyo'yaṁ mahāmuneḥ”, while the *Bhāṣya* gives the reading “dharmākhyo'pi mahāmuneḥ”. This discrepancy has been retained in Dr. Chatterjee's edition. Dr. Tiwary has changed the reading in the *Bhāṣya* to “dharmākhyoyam”, and we feel inclined to agree with him.¹⁴

We must add here in all fairness that in the critical notes, Dr. Chatterjee has suggested some emendations to the text adopted by Levi. These are as follows :

(i) In Sthiramati's *Bhāṣya* on TK 11, we come across the following line :

“Kāyasya punaḥ spraṣṭavyaviśeṣa eva prityāhṛtaḥ
kāyaprasrabdhir veditavyā.”

This line does not seem to be in order, in as much as it identifies dexterity of the body (kāyaprasrabdhi) with a certain kind of tactile

sensation. Dr. Tiwary has given in the footnote as emendation suggested by Ui, who reads “prītyahṛte” in place of “prītyahṛtaḥ”.¹⁵ Dr. Chatterjee suggests that the line should be read as “... ... sparṣṭavyaviśeṣe eva pratyāhṛte ...” (note 43, p. 152), and this deserves due consideration.

(ii) In Levi’s edition, the following line is found in Sthiramati’s *Bhāṣya* on TK 14 ;

“Kāmaryāpāradavihimsādivitarkāḥ kliṣṭāḥ”.

Dr. Chatterjee has pointed out that “Kāmaryāpāda” is a better reading, and in this connection, he has referred to the edition of VMS published from Gita Dharma Press, Varanasi (note 51, p. 154). Unfortunately, the bibliographical details of this edition have not been given. It may be noted here that Dr. Tiwary and Dr. Chaudhuri also accept the reading “Kāmaryāpāda”, but they have not noted the wrong reading in Levi’s edition.¹⁶

(iii) In Sthiramati’s *Bhāṣya* on TK 19 as given in Dr. Chatterjee’s edition, we come across the following line :

“Evaṁ ca na kevalāḥ karmavāsanaḥ grāhadvaya-
vāsānānugrhitā vipākāḥ janayantītyuktaḥ bhavati.”

Subsequently, Dr. Chatterjee points out that the reading here should be “... grāhadvayavāsānānugrhitā...” (note 55, p. 145), and his observation is correct. It is, however, not clear whether he is correcting a misprint in his own edition, or suggesting an emendation to the text adopted by Levi. Dr. Tiwary has also adopted the reading “grāhadvayavāsānānugrhitā”, but he has not noted any variants.¹⁷

IV

Let us now consider how far the translation provided by Dr. Chatterjee serves its intended purpose. It is rather unfortunate that on many occasions, the Sanskrit text and its English translation are not printed on the same page. For example, TK 1 along with Sthiramati’s *Bhāṣya* is printed on pp. 27-29, while the translation starts at the bottom of p. 29. Accordingly, from p. 29 onwards,

there is hardly any coordination between the Sanskrit text and the English translation printed on any particular page.

While translating a classical text it is always advisable to follow some uniform practice. In the case under consideration, some measures should be adopted for distinguishing between the translation of the *Kāriā-s* and the translation of the *Vṛtti/Bhāṣya*. While translating Sthiramati's *Bhāṣya* on TK, Dr. Chatterjee has given the text of the *Kārikā-s* in Roman script with diacritical marks, and the translation of the *Kārikā-s* has been printed in bold-faced letters. But this procedure has not been adopted while translating VK with *Vṛtti*.

The translation, like the edited texts, abounds in misprints ; and it is not worth while to enumerate them in this paper [some of them admittedly provide us with comic relief, e.g. "...on the other head"... (p. 137)]. There are, however, some expressions which are patently ungrammatical, and they cannot be treated as cases of misprint. Here are a few samples :

(i) "...consciousness would have to be admitted as having of content" (p. 12, emphasis added).

(ii) "(Had it been a single object), it *cannot* have any region where there should be no light" (p. 15, emphasis added)

(iii) "... an elephant, a horse and the like cannot be in different *locuses* ...?" (p. 18, emphasis added)

(iv) "... these have *been* either ceased to function or have not yet come to exist" (p. 31, emphasis added).

VMS and commentaries on it contain a number of technical terms, and it is not always possible to find corresponding terms in English. In such cases, one may retain the Sanskrit terms in the translation and explain them in a glossary ; or else, one may choose English words/expressions that are best suited for the purpose, and use them uniformly.

Dr. Chatterjee has not adopted any one of these procedures. Thus, while translating the term "pāramāṇu", he uses the terms "atom"

and “monad” (p. xxviii). “Vijñapti” is translated as “ideation” and “consciousness” on p. 1, and as “knowledge” on p. 21. “Santāna” has been translated as “person” (p. 2), “stream of consciousness” (p. 3) and “individual”. “Vāsanā” has been translated as “biotic force” (p. 20) and “natural capacity” (p. 34). “Karma” has been translated as “antecedent” (p. 3) and “deed,” (p. 7). “Dharma” is translated as “phenomenon” (p. xxiii) and “thing” (p. 9). [Strangely enough, “santāna” and “vāsanā” have been retained in the translation on p. 3 and p. 7 respectively.] In some cases, the same English term has been used for translating non-synonymous Sanskrit words. Thus, both “paramārtha” and “lokottara” have been translated as “transcendental” (pp. 3, 7).

In some cases, indiscriminate use of terms that have some fixed meaning in the parlance of Western philosophy adds to our confusion. Thus, readers acquainted with the philosophy of Leibniz may be surprised to learn that monad is a partless material particle (p. xxviii).

Likewise, readers having some acquaintance with Western epistemology are likely to be baffled by expressions like “real knowledge” (p. xxiii), “valid knowledge” (p. 18) and “false knowledge” (p. 21). Knowledge is by definition veridical, and hence, the adjective “valid” is redundant, while “false knowledge” is a self-contradictory expression. The significance of the adjective in “real knowledge” is beyond our comprehension. We fail to understand why “mukhya dharma” and “mukhya padārtha” have been translated as “primary substance” (pp. 37-39). Substance is supposed to be the thing that is characterized by qualities, movement, universal etc. Such a notion of substance was never endorsed in Buddhist philosophy. In these cases, “primary entity” and “primary meaning” would have served the purpose.

Some technical terms like “dhātu”, “gati”, “yoni”, “jāti”, “upadādukā”, “vipadumakā”, “vyadhmātaka”, “Kāmadhātu” etc. have not been translated by Dr. Chatterjee, and nothing has been said about them in the critical notes or the Introduction. This places the readers unacquainted with such terms in an unenviable situation.

In some cases, the translation provided by Dr. Chatterjee is incomprehensible, even though the original texts are perfectly intelligible. Consider, for example, the following sentences in the Vrtti on VK 14 :

“Sanniveśāparikalpa eṣaḥ, paramāṇuḥ saṁghāto vā,
kimanayā cintayā, lakṣaṇaṁ tu rūpādi (deḥ)
yadi na pratiṣidhyati ? Kim punas teṣāṁ lakṣaṇaṁ ?
Cakṣurādiviśayatvaṁ nīlatvaṁ ca.”

Dr. Chatterjee translates these lines as follows :

“Whether it is only atoms or a conglomeration thereof, all such conjectures pertain only to the externals of the problems and as such what is the use of all such conjectures, if the very essence of things—colour and the like (sic) cannot be disproved ? What is their essence ? Obviously, their being the object of eye (consciousness) and the like and of the quality, ‘blue’ and the like.”¹⁸

Let us now see, as a case of contrast, how Dr. S. Bagchi translates these very lines :

“(The opponent may further contend that) it is a hypothesis necessitated by the problem of adjustment (of the atoms in space). What is the use of this speculation whether it is an atom or a conglomerate (of atoms) so long as the definitive character of matter and the like is not repudiated ? What is their defining character ? It is nothing but the attribute of being the object of the organ of vision and the like or being possessed of colour-form blue and the like.”¹⁹

Consider, again, the translation of VK 15. The verse reads as follows :

Ekatve na krameṇetir yugapanna grahāgrahau /
Vicchinnānekavṛttiśca sūkṣmāṇikṣā na no bhavet //

Dr. Chatterjee translates this as follows :

“If it is one (unitary in character) than no gradual movement is possible, for it cannot be that one is assailed and not

assailed at the same time. (At the same time) many objects that are so different from each other could not be held to be existing in the same locus, or could the minute ones be not perceived by us (emphasis added)."²⁰

Dr. S. Bagchi's translation is as follows :

"If the object were an indivisible unit, there could possibly be no graduated and successive act of movement, and synchronous perception and non-perception, the existence of discrete and diverse things, and the non-observation of minute (microbes) would not be possible."²¹

We close this section by discussing the translation of VK 19. The text is as follows :

Maraṇaṁ paravijñaptiviśeṣād vikriyā yathā /
Smṛtilopādikānyeṣāṁ piśācādīmanovaśāt //

Dr. Chatterjee translates this as follows :

"Death is (the name of) change (only)—an effect of the consciousness of another as loss of memory and the like are caused by the minds of goblins."²²

Dr. S. Bagchi's translation runs as follows :

"Death is a state of transformation which is induced by the influence of another conscious continuum (individual person). It is exactly analogous to the loss of memory and such other phenomena which emerge in beings that fall a prey to the purely mental influence exerted by the evil spirits and the like."²³

It is possible to suggest some minor changes in the translation done by Dr. Bagchi. His translation, however, enables the reader to understand what Vasubandhu is talking about. We wish we could say half as much about the translation done by Dr. Chatterjee.

V

We may now wind up our discussion by taking a look at the critical notes provided by Dr. Chatterjee. There are sixtyeight of them,

among whom note nos. 8, 11, 43, 51, 55 and 67 are useful and interesting. Note No. 8 deals with the problem of *upacāra* in connection with TK 1, and it contains some relevant passages from *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, *Nyāyavārttika*, *Locana* and *Abhidhāvr̥ttimātrkā*. Note no. 11 identifies some philosophers, whose views were mentioned by Sthiramati with the comment “Anyastu manyate” in his *Bhāṣya* on TK 1. In this connection, Dr. Chatterjee has utilized *Ālambanaparīkṣā*, *Tattvasaṅgraha* and Ku’ichi’s commentary on CWSL. Note nos. 43, 51 and 55 deal with textual problems, and we have already discussed them in section III of this paper. Note no. 67 pertains to a sentence in *Nirvikalpapraveśa dhāraṇī* quoted by Sthiramati in his *Bhāṣya* on TK 22. Here, Dr. Chatterjee has furnished us with some material from Ku’ichi’s commentary on CWSL. But the other notes, though relevant, have no claim to originality. Most of them are simply quotations from Stcherbatsky’s *Buddhist Logic* and *Central Conception of Buddhism*, or from A. K. Chatterjee’s *The Yogācārā Idealism*. Some of these notes (e.g. note no. 7) refer to a work called *Sarvāstivāda*, but its full title is not found in the Bibliography (which leaves much to be desired). Some of the references are misleading, e.g. “Abhikośa” (note no. 5), “Abhidhāmatrkā” (note no. 8). There are also some abbreviations like “Kośa” (note no. 48), “Abh, Kośa” (note no. 50), “Ab-K” (note no. 24). We wonder why no uniformity has been maintained in these cases.

Our overall impression is that Dr. Chatterjee has taken up a serious job in a rather casual manner. This is really unfortunate, because he could have made a significant contribution to Buddhist studies if only he had proceeded in a careful and systematic manner.

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* The author is grateful to Sri Debiprasad Bandyopadhyaya for suggesting some corrections in an earlier draft of this paper.

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1. (4), p. 1.
2. (7), Vol. I, p. 13.
3. H. Lüders (ed)–Bruchstücke der *Ḳalpanāmanḍitikā* des Kumāralāta, referred to in (10), p. 288, n. 3.
4. (7), Vol. III, p. 878. See also Vol. I, p. 81, where Vasubandhu quotes a verse and ascribes it to Kumāralāta, and Vol. IV, pp. 1210–1211, where some verses quoted by Vasubandhu have been ascribed to Kumāralāta by Yaśomitra.
5. (10), p. 288, and p. 624, where it has been noted that Lüders also discovered fragments of a grammar by Kumāralāta.
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7. (8), p. 1.
8. (3), p. 32, p. 40. See also R. C. Pandeya's Introduction to his edition of *Madhyāntavibhāgaśāstra*, Motilal Banarsidass, 1971.
9. (1), p. 1, (5), p. 1, (8), p. 1.
10. (6), p. 175.
11. (9), p. 2
12. (9), p. 47, (5), p. 54.
13. (9), p. 83, p. 85, (5), p. 83.
14. (9), p. 110.
15. (9), p. 58.
16. (9), p. 73, (5), p. 69.
17. (9), p. 83, (5), p. 82 reads *Vāsanānugṛhītā*.
18. (4), p. 16.
19. (2), p. 382.
20. (4), p. 17.
21. (2), p. 382.
22. (4), p. 23.
23. (2), p. 386.

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